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TITLE: MINISTERIAL APPOINTMENTS AND  
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The Financial Times Thursday January 1 1970

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- 5 JAN 1970

IVE-21/12

## More Marxist flavour for Iraq Cabinet

BY RICHARD JOHNS, MIDDLE EAST CORRESPONDENT

THE IRAQI Cabinet reshuffle announced yesterday in Baghdad appears to give the Government a more Marxist hue.

Mr. Aziz Sharif, the new Minister of Justice, was leader of the Shaab Party, the Communist front organisation which was allowed to exist before the overthrow of the monarchy at a time when the party itself was banned. Dr. Suad Khalil Ismail, Minister of Higher Education, is also known for his Marxist leanings.

For some time now there have been rumours that Communists were to be allowed some kind of participation in the Cabinet, if not in the Revolutionary Command Council, the Baath Party's ruling body in Iraq.

The second interesting feature of the new appointments is the elevation of Dr. Saadoun Hamadi, chairman of National Iraqi Oil Company, to be Minister of Oil and Minerals as well. This will integrate petroleum affairs more fully in the political domain following the creation this autumn of a steering committee dealing

with the subject within the Revolutionary Command Council.

It is possible that Dr. Hamadi will eventually hand over the chairmanship of INOC. However, he is an altogether stronger figure than his predecessor, Dr. Rahid al Rifai who becomes a Minister of State without any apparent special duties.

The appointment of Mr. Izzat Ibrahim al Douri as Minister of Agrarian Reform may indicate that President al Bakr may now be determined to implement more determinedly the programme in this field about which the regime has promised.

Another significant development recently has been the abolition of the posts of Vice-Premier—held by the two rival hard men of the regime, Lieut-Gen. Salah Mahdi Ammash, Minister of the Interior, and Air Marshal Hardan Takriti, Minister of Defence. This is understood to have followed the recent expansion of the Revolutionary Command Council and seems to have been motivated by President Bakr's desire to keep rivals at a distance.

Pa.  
Iraq Inter

MM

S/1.

Mr. Wallis o.r.

Mr. Bryant 03

Mr. Ellsworth 2/1

NED - we sh'd be  
grateful to see any  
comment on this from  
the press.



MR  
RR

DAILY TELEGRAPH

(32)  
0

Cutting dated ..... 2 JAN 1970 ..... 19



COMMUNIST AS  
IRAQ MINISTER

By Our Staff Correspondent  
in Beirut

A Communist minister has been appointed to the Left-wing Baathist Government in Iraq for the first time since the overthrow seven years ago of the pro-Communist regime of the late President Kassem.

The official Iraqi News Agency said in Baghdad yesterday that Mr Aziz Sharif, the new Justice Minister, was a leading Iraqi Communist. Mr Sharif was brought into the Government on Wednesday in a minor Cabinet reshuffle announced by President al-Bakr.

Reg. sh.  
by Inter.



③

**Iraqi Government Changes****(a) Baghdad home service in Arabic 11.30 GMT 31.12.69****Abstract of decree announcing Cabinet changes:****Abdullah Sallum as-Samarra'i is appointed Minister of State instead of Minister of Culture and Information.****Izzat Ibrahim ad-Duri is appointed Agrarian Reform Minister.****Ahmad Abd as-Sattar al-Jawari is appointed Minister of State for Presidential Affairs instead of Education Minister.****Rashid ar-Rifa'i is appointed Minister of State instead of Oil and Minerals Minister.****Mawlud Kamil Abd is appointed Agriculture Minister instead of Agrarian Reform Minister.****Hamid al-Juburi is appointed Minister of Culture and Information instead of Minister of State for Presidential Affairs.****Mahdi ad-Dawla'i is relieved of his post as Justice Minister.****Abd al-Husayn Wadda'i al-Atiyah is relieved of his post as Agriculture Minister.****Dr. Sa'dun Hammadi is appointed Oil and Minerals Minister.****Aziz Sharif is appointed Minister of Justice.****Dr. Su'ad Khalil Isma'il is appointed Minister of Higher Education.****Dr. Sa'd Abd al-Baqi is appointed Education Minister.****(b) Iraqi News Agency in Arabic 11.45 GMT 31.12.69****Text of report:**

Two Ministers have left the Cabinet - the Justice Minister, Mahdi ad-Dawla'i and the Agriculture Minister, Abd al-Husayn Wadda'i al-Atiyah. Five new Ministers have joined the cabinet, including the following four who have been given Cabinet portfolios for the first time: the Agrarian Reform Minister, Izzat Ibrahim ad-Duri, a member of the Ba'th Party Regional Command and of the Revolution Command Council; the Justice Minister, Aziz Sharif, a member of the WCP Praesidium, chairman of the Iraqi Peace Committee, Lenin Peace Prize winner and a founder of the People's Party dissolved in 1947 and well-known for its socialist-Marxist leaning; the Education Minister, Dr. Sa'd Abd al-Baqi, Dean of Basrah University; and the first Higher Education Minister, Dr. Su'ad Khalil Isma'il, director of the Education and Psychological Research Centre; she is the second Iraqi woman to assume a Cabinet portfolio; Dr. Nahihah ad-Dulaymi was Municipal Affairs Minister after the 14th July 1958 revolution. This is the first Cabinet reshuffle since the introduction of the presidential system in Iraq in accordance with a constitutional amendment promulgated last week.



**A. THE ARAB WORLD AND ISRAEL****Cairo Radio Call for Establishment of Gulf Federation****Cairo "Voice of the Arabs" in Arabic 11.30 GMT 31.12.69****Excerpts from commentary by Hilmi al-Buluk:****[Passage on the importance of the Gulf Federation as a support for the Arab struggle against colonialism and imperialism.]**

Following Britain's decision to liquidate her military bases in the Arabian Gulf, it was natural for the will of the Arab masses in this vital part to be united, on the understanding that the liquidation of the British bases would provide an opportunity for the removal of all artificial barricades and frontiers created by imperialism, and for the adoption of practical measures, directly and as speedily as possible, to build an Arab entity in which all the causes of artificial segregation could be liquidated and which could serve as a springboard for the development of the region... Out of this idea the first steps for implementation of the concept of the establishment of the Federation began in February 1968...

The Federation question is not one of private interests or private gains or influence. It is basically a national question in which all private interests and ambitions must be dissolved. Neither history nor the Arab nation will forgive any negligence in achievement of the urgent demand for the Federation, as the question is that of a future and a destiny...

In the light of this the people of the Arabian Gulf and the whole Arab nation expected and hoped that during the recent meeting of the Supreme Council of the Federation at Abu Dhabi - last October - agreement would be reached on all basic issues, and that the Council meetings would result in the declaration of the Federation as a State.

The Supreme Council was able during its last session to accomplish a great deal - the Head of the Federation was elected; agreement was reached on the provisional capital pending the choice of a new capital; and agreement was reached on the flag, the national anthem and other things. But the Arab masses, especially the masses of the Arab people in the Gulf, were shocked by the differences over the distribution of ministerial posts among the nine Amirates. These differences led to the termination of the meetings of the Supreme Council of the Federation without a declaration about the establishment of the Federation... This shock opened the door wide to doubts and fears...

The days are passing, and Britain's date for the liquidation of her bases in the Arabian Gulf is drawing nearer. Ambitions and imperialist dangers surround the Gulf and are threatening the future of the region. The opportunity for the establishment [of the Federation] may not be opportune tomorrow... The people of the region are demanding the establishment of the Federation... but despite all this the implementation of the necessary steps is still stumbling because of differences of views on matters which should not be a subject of dispute... The responsibility of the rulers of the Arabian Amirates for establishing the Federation is an historic one...



HOLIDAY MAIN NEWS AND TRENDS]MIDDLE EAST DEVELOPMENTS OVER THE HOLIDAY

Arab press attention over the holiday concentrated on the following subjects:

1. Reshuffle of the Iraqi Cabinet, under which a communist was appointed Minister.
2. Fatah's announcements at a press conference in Amman on occasion of the organization's fifth anniversary.
3. The arrival of the gunboats in Haifa, and the suspension of two high-ranking French officials in connection with the scandal.
4. A number of Lebanese news items.

Following are the details:

COMMUNIST IN IRAQI CABINET. A dialogue that had been going on between the ruling Baath Party in Iraq and the Communist Party appeared to have succeeded. This was demonstrated by the appointment of a prominent Iraqi Communist in the Cabinet after a reshuffle announced on Wednesday. Two Ministers were dropped, and five new ones were appointed. Of significance also was the fact that two portfolios in the Cabinet assigned to followers of Kurdish insurgent leader Mulla Mustafa Barzani remained untouched, even though the two Ministers never took up the posts due to the conflict that had set in between Barzani and the Baathists shortly after they came to power in July, 1968. Originally, the Cabinet was formed on July 30, 1968, when Baathists consolidated their power by ousting non-Baathists from the regime which seized power in the country after ousting the regime of former President Abdel Rahman Aref on July 17th, 1968.

The Cabinet reshuffle appeared to have had two purposes: 1) completion of the reorganization of the administration under the amendments introduced on the provisional constitution recently; and 2) the inclusion of new personalities, particularly the Communist, in the Cabinet.

Regarding the first purpose, the amendments, it will be recalled, made the President of the country automatically the Prime Minister, with powers to dismiss the Ministers. Some of the Baathist leaders in the Cabinet were moved out of their previous portfolios and made Ministers of State -- or Ministers without portfolios. It had already been explained in reports from Baghdad that these leaders will be devoting more of their time to their functions inside the Party and as members of the Revolution Command Council, the 15-man highest executive in the country. It will be recalled that the Council was recently expanded by bringing into it all 11 members of the National (Iraqi) Command of the Baath Party.

The Communist Position. It is to be noted that the Cabinet members in Iraq have only little authority. Theirs are strictly administrative powers for fulfillment of decisions that would be taken by the RCC. They certainly will not be making policy, which is a function of the Baath leadership.

Therefore, the Communist in the Cabinet will have only administrative power -- along the same lines as the Communist member of the Syrian Cabinet. In Syria, the highest executive power now is the 9-man Politbureau, while the Bureau and the Baath Party leadership are the ones who decide on policy.

On the other hand, the Communist in the Iraqi Cabinet, Mr Aziz Sharif, was given a rather important portfolio, that of the Ministry of Justice. This brings him in some ways to be in charge of the courts in the country, including perhaps the Revolutionary Court which has been trying the anti-state activity and espionage cases. The Ministry of Justice also has a bearing on the question of political prisoners, even though the Ministry that directly deals with these prisoners is the Ministry of Interior, which remained under Lt-General Saleh Mahdi Ammash, a Baathist.

In fact, the main portfolios remained unchanged. The Ministries of Defense, Interior and Foreign Affairs continued to be held by Lt-General Hardan Takriti, Lt-General Ammash, and



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NEQ 1/1

5

Near Eastern Department.

Foreign and Commonwealth Office  
London S.W.1

8 January, 1970.

Ministerial Changes

We were interested to read your letter of 3 January which I have circulated fairly widely within the office.

2. There has been some speculation here about the appointment of Aziz Sharif as Minister of Justice ~~and~~ ~~an~~. An article in, I think, the Financial Times ~~which~~ stated that this was the beginning of close cooperation between the Baathists and the Communists and perhaps a step towards a National Front Government in Iraq.

3. My own view is that as Aziz Sharif is not a member of the ICP leadership, his appointment is not necessarily indicative of closer Baath/Communist ties but may well show that the Baath regime now feel secure enough to appoint non-party men to important posts.

4. We have just received Baghdad Telegram no. 17 of 7 January recording the breakdown of the oil negotiations. The last line of your letter must almost be a record for a rapidly fulfilled prophecy!

(P.R.M. Hinchcliffe)

J. H. Symons, Esq.,  
Baghdad.

*File Copy*

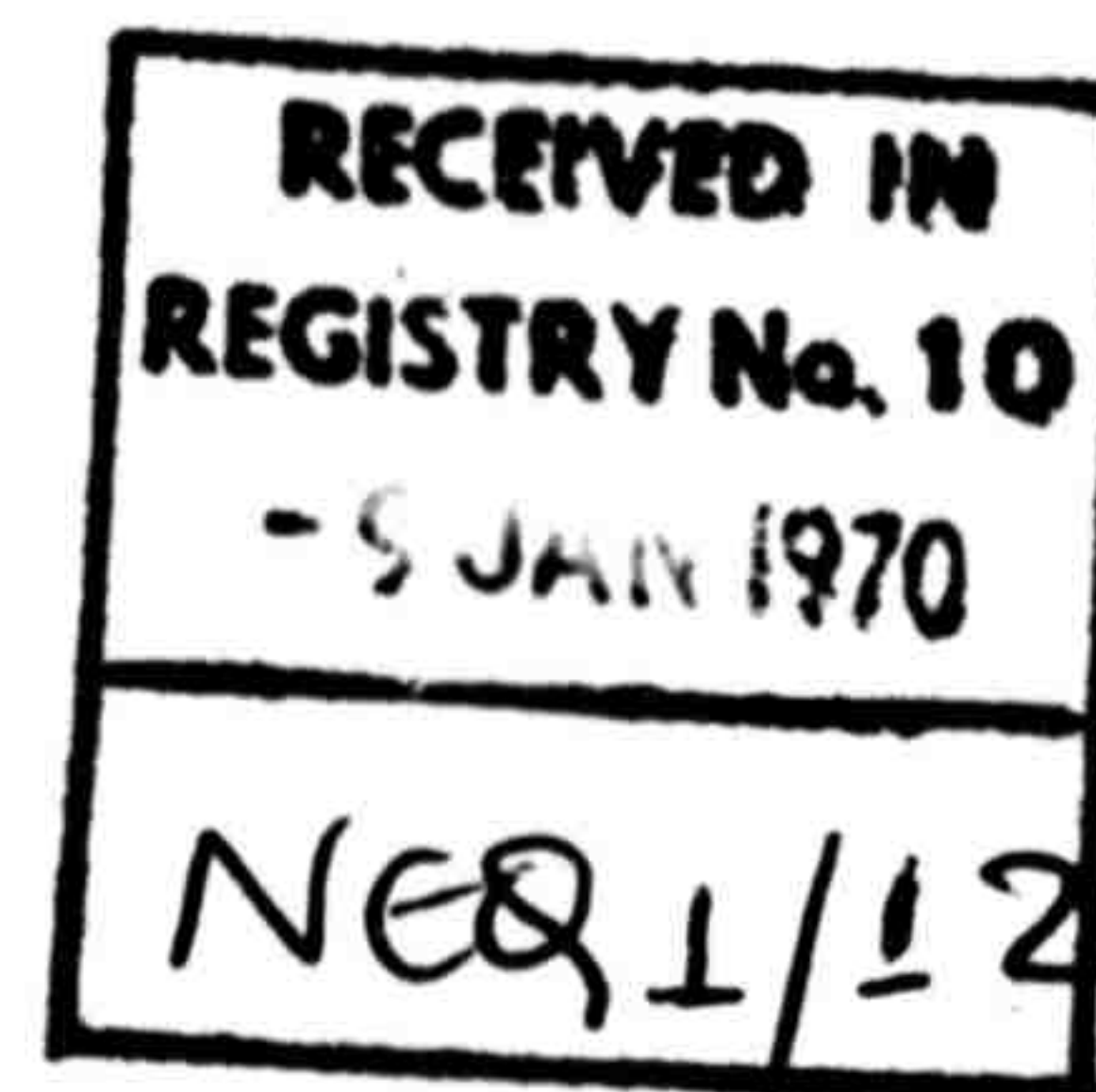
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*8/7*

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IRAQI MINISTERS  
(AS ON 1 JANUARY, 1970)



Field-Marshal Ahmad Hasan al Bakr	President of the Republic.
Air General Hardan Abdul Ghaffar al-Tikriti	Minister of Defence.
General Salih Mehdi Ammash	Minister of the Interior.
Sd. Abdul Karim Abdul Sattar al Shaikhli	Minister of Foreign Affairs.
Sd. Amin Abdul Karim	Minister of Finance.
Sd. Aziz Sharif	Minister of Justice.
Dr. Sa'ad Abdul Baqi al Rawi	Minister of Education.
Dr. Su'ad Khalil Ismail	Minister of Higher Education.
Sd. Anwar Abdul Qadir al Hadithi	Minister of Labour & Social Affairs.
Dr. Izzat Mustafa	Minister of Health.
Sd. Hamed al Jabouri	Minister of Culture and Information.
Sd. Adnan Ayyub Sabri	Minister of Communications.
Dr. Mawlood Kamel Abed	Minister of Agriculture.
Sd. Izzat Ibrahim al Doori	Minister of Agrarian Reform.
Dr. Taha Ibrahim al Abdullah	Minister of Irrigation.
...	Minister of Works & Housing.
Dr. Jawad Hashim	Minister of Planning.
Dr. Fakhri Yasin Qadduri	Minister of Economy.
Sd. Khalid Makki al Hashimi	Minister of Industry.
Dr. Sa'adun Hammadi	Minister of Oil & Minerals.
Dr. Ghayib Mawlud Mukhlis	Minister of Municipal & Rural Affairs.
Sd. Shafiq al Kamali	Minister of Youth.
...	Minister of North Affairs.
Dr. Abdullah al Khudhayyir	Minister of Unity and Acting Minister of North Affairs.
Dr. Ahmad Abdul Sattar al Jawari	Minister of State for Presidential Affairs.
Sd. Taha Muhyiddin	Minister of State and Acting Minister of Works & Housing.
Dr. Hamad Dalli al Karbuli	Minister of State for Awqaf Affairs.
Sd. Abdullah Salloum al Samarra'ie	Minister of State.
Dr. Rashid al Rifa'ie	Minister of State.



NEQ 1/1  
ME/W552/A1/4

(7)

National service The Director General of Recruitment, Maj-Gen. Abd al-Wahhab Abd ar-Razzaq, has issued a statement calling on males born in 1952 to report to their recruitment offices for examination prior to their enlistment as national service-men. (Baghdad in Arabic 15.00 GMT 4.1.70)

Cabinet changes have been announced as follows: Mahdi ad-Dawla'i and Abd al-Husayn Wadda'i have been relieved of their posts as Ministers of Justice and Agriculture respectively. The following appointments have been made: Ministers of State, Abdullah Sallum as-Samarra'i and Rashid ar-Rifa'i; Minister of State for Presidential Affairs, Ahmad Abd as-Sattar al-Jawari; Minister of Agrarian Reform, Izzat Ibrahim ad-Duri; Agriculture, Maylud Kamil Abd; Culture and Information, Hamid al-Juburi; Oil and Minerals, Dr. Sa'dun Hammadi; Justice, Aziz Sharif; Higher Education, Dr. Su'ad Khalil Isma'il; Education, Dr. Sa'd Abd al-Baqi. (Baghdad in Arabic 11.30 GMT 31.12.69; ME/3268/A/2)

ISRAEL Co-operation with Latin America A delegation of the Inter-American Development Bank arrived in Israel on 3rd January for talks on strengthening co-operation and aid between Israel and Latin American countries. (Israel in Hebrew 18.00 GMT 3.1.70)

Citrus fruit exports According to the Counsellor for Agricultural Affairs at the Israeli Embassy in London, this year Israel will export 21,000,000 boxes of citrus fruit to Europe, an increase of 15 per cent over last year. He said this would include 8,500,000 boxes of grapefruit, an increase of 1,000,000 boxes over last year. (Israel in Arabic 04.30 GMT 1.1.70)

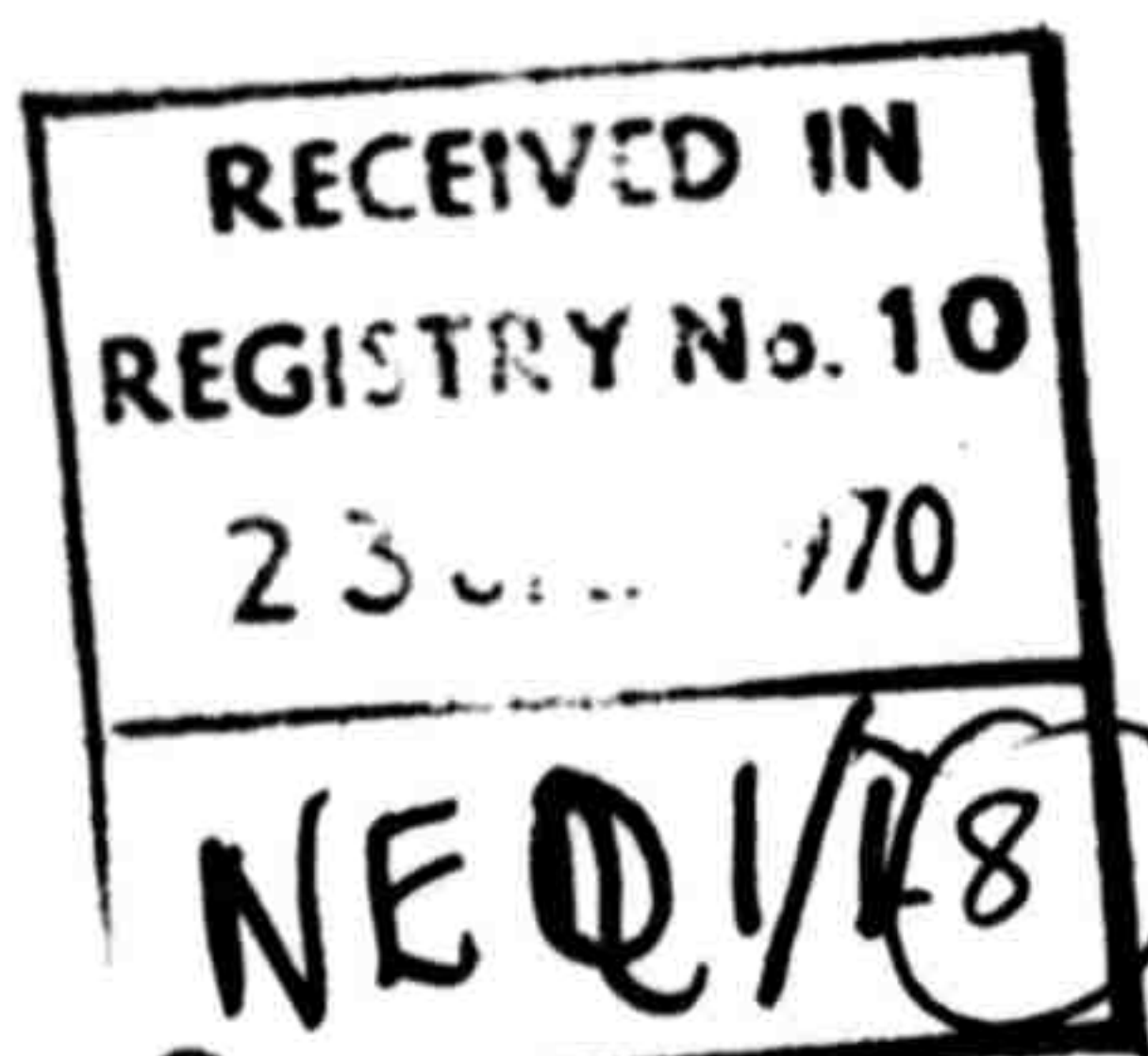
Diamond exports rose by 15 per cent in 1969 to reach a total of 220,000,000 dollars. (Israel in English 05.00 GMT 31.12.69)

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261



CONFIDENTIAL

NEQ 1/1 (8)



British Embassy,  
BAGHDAD.

17 January, 1970.

(1/2)

*Dear Sir,*

Ministerial Changes

(5)

You mentioned in your letter NEQ 1/1 of 8 January speculation about the appointment of Aziz Sharif as Minister of Justice.

2. We disagree with the Financial Times conclusion that this is the beginning of close cooperation between the Ba'athists and the Communists and a step towards a National Front Movement. Having said that, I have to admit that his appointment is one of many smaller indications that the Ba'ath are allowing greater scope to the Communists. There was, initially, the appearance of an opposition list, including the Communists, in the National Students elections. Then in the lawyers' elections the Communists formed part of the official approved list together with the Ba'ath. I am writing separately about the foundation of a local branch of the World Peace Movement, again heavily loaded with Communist membership. But all these are no indication that the Ba'ath are yet prepared to make significant concessions to the Communists in the interests of forming a genuine National Front or that the Communists are prepared to join such a front without such concessions.

3. The most widely accepted reason for Sharif's appointment here is his connexion with Mulla Mustafa and his involvement, as report has it, in contacts between the Ba'ath government and the Barzanists. This seems on the whole quite likely.

*Yours,*

*JH*

(J. H. Symons)

*Barzan (Kassab)*

*Now Dept (Miss Collins)*

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*then enter*

*PLWA*

*22/1*

*X 10 PLWA*

P. R. M. Hinchcliffe, Esq.,  
Near Eastern Department,  
F.C.O.,  
London, S.W.1.

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British Embassy,  
BAGHDAD.

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NRQ 1/12

3 January, 1970.

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Ministerial Changes

The Baghdad Press of 1 January published Republican Decree No. 1261 of 31 December, 1969 making the following ministerial appointments (the previous appointment held is in brackets):

Minister of State: Abdullah Salloum al-Samarra'ie (Culture and Information)

Minister of State: Dr. Rasheed al-Refa'ie (Oil and Minerals)

Minister of Agrarian Reform: Izzat Ibrahim al-Doori

Minister of State for Presidential Affairs: Dr. Ahmed Abdul Sattar al-Jawari (Education)

Minister of Agriculture: Dr. Mawlood Kamel Abed (Agrarian Reform)

Minister of Culture and Information: Hamed al-Jaboori (Minister of State for Presidential Affairs)

Minister of Oil and Minerals: Dr. Saadun Hamadi (Chairman of INOC)

Minister of Justice: Aziz Sharif

Minister of Higher Education: Dr. Suad Khalil Ismail

Minister of Education: Dr. Saad Abdul Baqi

Two ministers from the previous cabinet have lost their posts - Dr. Abdul Hussein Wadday al-Attayah (Agriculture) and Mehdi al-Dawla'ee (Justice).

2. Of those appointed Ministers for the first time we know very little beyond what is given in their official biographies, copies of which are enclosed. Aziz Sharif, of Kurdish origin, has been a member of the Communist Party but has not held any position in the party leaderships so far as is known. At least until 1958 he is believed to have been a close friend of Mulla Mustafa Barzani, and it may be that he will have a part to play in the Government's Kurdish policy. He appears as No. 62 in our 1965 Personalities Report. Dr. Suad Khalil, the only woman in the cabinet, has held various educational posts. She was educated at the American University in Beirut (AUB) and at Berkeley, California, and later

.../became

P. R. M. Hinchcliffe, Esq.,  
Near Eastern Department,  
F.C.O.,  
London, S.W.1.

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- 2 -

became lecturer and then Dean at the college for girls; in 1967 she was Director of the Educational and Psychological Research Center affiliated to the University of Baghdad. Herself a Ba'athi her uncle is Abdul Qadir Ismail al-Bustani, a prominent Communist. Saad Abdul Baqi al Rawi, also educated at AUB and in the United States of America, has under the Ba'ath held the posts of Vice President of Baghdad University for a year, and briefly, President of Basrah University.

3. There have been rumours for some time that ministerial changes were imminent, but similar stories have proved unfounded so often before that they aroused no particular notice. It is hard to see any comprehensive pattern in the present changes. Both Jawari and Samarra'ie have been effective in their posts but for different reasons their possible loss of office had been widely predicted. Jawari is said to have encountered opposition from the Ba'ath Party's Teachers Bureau. Samarra'ie, who was believed to be the main ideological opponent of Saddam Hussein within the party leadership, has probably lost his job for this reason. The departure of the Minister of Oil, Refa'ie, is not surprising since, as we have seen over the IPC negotiations, he has been ignored or by-passed by the government leaders when major decisions on oil affairs have had to be taken. The best that can be said about the translation of Izzat al-Doori to a ministerial post is that he clearly owes it to his place amongst the political leadership of the Ba'ath rather than to any conventional qualifications for the post. In recent months he has played a prominent part in mobilising the peasants and carrying out public works, principally drainage and irrigation schemes, with their help.

4. These ministerial changes have not thrown any light on the general question of the position of ministers in the government structure in the light of the fourth amendment to the Interim Constitution (about which Jenner is writing separately). It is possible that the Ministers of State will form part of a body in the Presidency which may assume some of the former Council of Ministers' coordinating and advisory responsibilities. Another possible explanation is that they will serve as Presidential "messengers" to other Arab Governments, departmental business not suffering by their absence.

5. The one change which seems likely to affect British interests is the transfer of Hamadi from the chairmanship of INOC to the Ministry of Oil. It was left that when Sutcliffe and Ensor returned to Baghdad on 30 December they would have detailed discussions with Hamadi as Chairman of INOC, and although they had a long talk with Ammash and Hamadi on the evening of 31 December, it is not yet clear whether they will now talk to Hamadi or to his eventual successor at INOC (no appointment has yet been announced). The departure of

.../Refa'ie



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- 3 -

Refa'ie is no loss to IPC, but Hamadi, who is believed to be a firm proponent of the national exploitation of mineral resources, and has certainly been very active in this sense while at INOC, may prove no better friend than Refa'ie.

*S. it seems*

*Yours sincerely*  
*M. H.*  
*for (J. H. Symons)*

c.c. Chanceries at:

Kuwait  
Tehran  
Beirut  
Bahrain Residency

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Dr. Saad Abdul Baqi (al-Rawi)

Minister of Education.

Born 1930. Educated at Anah and later the American University of Beirut when he took a B.Sc. in Chemistry. He then took his M.A. in Biology and Chemistry at Illinois University in 1955, and Ph.D. at Stanford in 1959.

1960 appointed Chairman of Chemists at the Directorate of Industrial Planning and later joined Baghdad University where he taught in the College of Sciences.

1963 Director of Missions and Cultural Relations at the Ministry of Education.

July 1968 returned to the College of Sciences and then acted for a year as Vice President of Baghdad University.

1969 President of Basrah University.

Appointed Minister of Education 31 December 1969.



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Dr. Suad Khalil Ismail

Minister of Higher Education.

Educated in Baghdad and at the American University of Beirut, where she obtained a B.A. in Education and Psychology.

Taught at the Female Teachers' Institute for two years before taking her Ph.D. and M.A. at the University of California at Berkeley.

A lecturer and then, in 1957, Dean of the College of Girls.

1959, lecturer in the College of Education.

1963 Dean once more of the College of Girls.

1967 became Director of the Educational and Psychological Research Centre affiliated to the University of Baghdad.

31 December, 1969, appointed to head the newly formed Ministry of Higher Education.

A Ba'athi herself, she is the niece of Abdul Qadin Ismail al-Bustani, a veteran and prominent communist.



Copy to PUSO

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10

Revolutionary

Reg. S.P.A.

(1/2)

"Iraq Inten"

19/1/70

Dear Rite,



British Embassy,  
BAGHDAD.

14 March, 1970.

Revolutionary Command Council

The Official Gazette of 7 March published two R.C.C. decisions dismissing Abdullah Salloum al Samarra'ie and Shafiq Abdul Jabbar al Kamali from membership of the R.C.C. as of 2 March and 24 February respectively. We have not yet seen any reference to this in the press.

2. John Symons reported Samarra'ie's demotion from Minister to Minister of State in his letter of 3 January and mentioned that a probable reason for his losing this previous job was his ideological opposition to Saddam Hussain. It is believed that his further loss of status is also connected with this. Rumour has it that, at the Party Congress held at the end of February, al Samarra'ie gained considerable votes in the elections and that his removal was intended to cut him down to size. On 6 March it was announced that he was going to Cairo to head the Iraqi Delegation to the 53rd Session of the Arab League. He is now described as Iraq's permanent delegate to the Arab League. One story we have heard and which we have been unable to substantiate and which on the whole seems likely to be an exaggeration is that his departure to Cairo was in the nature of an expulsion. It seems unlikely that if he were so completely out of favour he would be given such a relatively important post, even bearing in mind the example of Ibrahim al Da'ud, the Iraqi Ambassador in Madrid who was Abdul Razzaq Nayef's associate and Minister of Defence in his government overthrown on 30 July 1968.

3. We are at a loss to explain the demotion of Kamali, which has come as a surprise to everyone. Although never particularly prominent on government or party occasions he has always been there and has the reputation of being a staunch party supporter. He left for the Soviet Union and East Germany on 12 March in his capacity of Minister of Youth for a 10-day visit at Soviet invitation to liaise with Soviet organisations.

4. There has as yet been no indication that the R.C.C. will be brought up to its previous number by appointing two new members.

.../The

P. R. M. Hinchcliffe, Esq.,  
Near Eastern Department,  
F.C.O.

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- 2 -

The R.C.C. statement on the settlement with the Kurds has as we have pointed out in our telegrams an ambiguous clause to the effect that the Kurds will gain proportionate representation in the "legislature". You will know from our previous correspondence that we have considered it unlikely that the Ba'ath would appoint Kurds to the R.C.C. and that this particular phrase probably refers to a National Legislative Council, as yet unformed. It is however I suppose conceivable that these two positions might have been vacated in order to be filled by Kurds.

*Yours sincerely*  
*M. K. Jenner*  
(M. K. Jenner)

c.c. P. Joy, Esq., O.B.E.,  
BEIRUT.

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NR 1/12 (2)

RECEIVED IN

UAR 12.30 GMT: Sami Hasan Sirri on Arab steadfastness, Palestine Resistance and US plots in Libya, Lebanon and Sudan. 18.30 GMT ("We and the World"): (i) US activities in Lebanon and Sudan (see above); (ii) US supply of Phantoms to Israel.

"Voice of the Arabs" (Cairo) 11.30 GMT: Abd al-Fattah al-Adawi on colonialist activities in the Arab world (see above). 14.15 GMT ("Palestine Service"): Israeli "Nazi-type atrocities". 15.15 GMT ("People in Sinai"): Poem by bedouin on evil of Israeli occupation. 16.20 GMT ("Conversation with a Listener"): US support for Israel. 18.00 GMT: Muhammad Abu al-Futuh on imperialist-Zionist attempts to cause dissension in Arab countries.

"Maghrib Service" (Cairo) 21.30 GMT: Ali Musa on imperialist attempts to harm Arab revolutionary movement.

### Reports in Brief

Nasir's audiences President Nasir on 28th March received the Netherlands Foreign Minister, Joseph Luns (Cairo in Arabic 12.30 GMT 28.3.70). On 30th March he received Victor Feather, General Secretary of the British Trade Union Congress (Cairo in Arabic 12.30 GMT 30.3.70).

UAR civil defence meeting The Supreme Civil Defence Council met under Vice-President Anwar as-Sadat on 28th March. The Council continued to discuss Ministers' reports on civil defence in various sectors. (Cairo in Arabic 15.00 GMT 28.3.70)

Anwar as-Sadat at Cairo political meeting (Excerpt) Vice-President Anwar as-Sadat, the members of the Supreme Executive Committee, Abd al-Muhsin Abu an-Nur and Diya ad-Din Dawud, and the Secretary of Organisational Affairs, Shirawi Jum'ah this evening [28.3.70] attended the open political meeting between the political leadership and the people... (Cairo in Arabic 21.00 GMT 28.3.70)

Iraqi Ministerial appointments The Revolution Command Council (RCC) member Tahir Jazrawi is appointed Industry Minister; RCC member Murtada al-Hadithi Labour and Social Affairs Minister; RCC member Salah Umar al-Ali Culture and Information Minister; Industry Minister Khalid Makki al-Hashimi Minister of State for Military Affairs; Labour and Social Affairs Minister Anwar Abd al-Qadir al-Hadithi Transport Minister; Culture and Information Minister Hamid al-Juburi Youth Minister; State and acting Communications Minister Adnan Ayyub Sabri Communications Minister; Ihsan Shirzad Municipal and Village Affairs Minister; Muhammad Mahmud Minister for Construction of the North; Nuri Shawish Works and Housing Minister; Salih al-Yusufi State Minister; Nafidh Jalal Agriculture Minister. Shafiq al-Kamali is relieved of the post of Youth Minister and appointed Ambassador at the Foreign Ministry; Dr. Ghaib Mawhud Mukhlis is relieved of the post of Municipal and Village Affairs Minister and appointed Ambassador at the Foreign Ministry; Dr. Hamad Dalli al-Karbuli is relieved of the post of State Minister and appointed Minister at the Foreign Ministry; Taha Muhyi ad-Din is relieved of the post of Minister of State and appointed Ambassador at the Foreign Ministry. (Baghdad in Arabic 19.07 GMT 29.3.70)

New Iraqi Ministry The Revolution Command Council issued a decision on 29th March establishing a new Ministry, the Ministry of Transport. (Baghdad in Arabic 19.07 GMT 29.3.70)

Soviet military delegation in Iraq The Soviet Military Academy Commandant General (?Mukhanov) and his delegation on 29th March visited the Military Academy. The delegation also visited the General Staff College. (Baghdad in Arabic 17.00 GMT 29.3.70)

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**Ali Nasir Husayn's arrival in Baghdad** The Southern Yemen Defence Minister Ali Nasir Husayn arrived in Baghdad on 28th March. (Baghdad in Arabic 04.00 GMT 29.3.70)

**Bakr's meeting with Bulgarian delegation** President Ahmad Hasan al-Bakr on 29th March received the Bulgarian Health Minister, Dr. Kiril Ignatov, and his delegation. (Baghdad in Arabic 15.00 GMT 29.3.70)

**Libyan oil appointment** The Revolution Command Council has appointed Umar Mustafa al-Muntasir as Deputy Director and member of the Board of Directors of the National Oil Establishment to replace Mustafa Rashid al-Kikhya whose resignation has been accepted. (Libyan Radio in Arabic 15.30 GMT 29.3.70)

**Atasi's meeting with Labib Shugayr** Ba'th Party Secretary-General Dr. Nur ad-Din al-Atasi on 30th March received the ASU delegation led by Dr. Muhammad Labib Shugayri, Chairman of the UAR National Assembly. (Damascus in Arabic 12.15 GMT 30.3.70)

**Syrian relations with N Korea** The establishment of the Arab-North Korean friendship society was celebrated on 28th March in Damascus. The Ba'th Party Regional Command member Abd al-Hamid al-Miqdad is Chairman (Damascus in Arabic 12.15 GMT 28.3.70). The Syrian Chief of State on 28th March received the member of the Korean Workers' Party Central Committee and official responsible for the industrial sector in North Korea, on the occasion of his visit to Syria at the head of an official delegation (Damascus in Arabic 15.00 GMT 28.3.70).

**Ammash's visit to Jordan** King Husayn on 30th March received General Salim Mahdi Ammash, the Iraqi Deputy Premier and Minister of the Interior, who arrived in Amman on 29th March leading a military delegation. Ammash had lunch with His Majesty and left for Iraq this afternoon. (Amman in Arabic 16.00 GMT 30.3.70)

**Prince Hasan's return from Rabat** Prince Hasan arrived in Amman from a visit to Rabat where he delivered a message from King Husayn to King Hasan. (Amman in Arabic 16.00 GMT 28.3.70)

**Palestine liberation taxes** Cairo: The Palestine Liberation Organisation has decided to ask Arab Governments to assist it in collecting the liberation tax from Palestinians residing in the Arab States. (Beirut in Arabic 06.44 GMT 30.3.70)

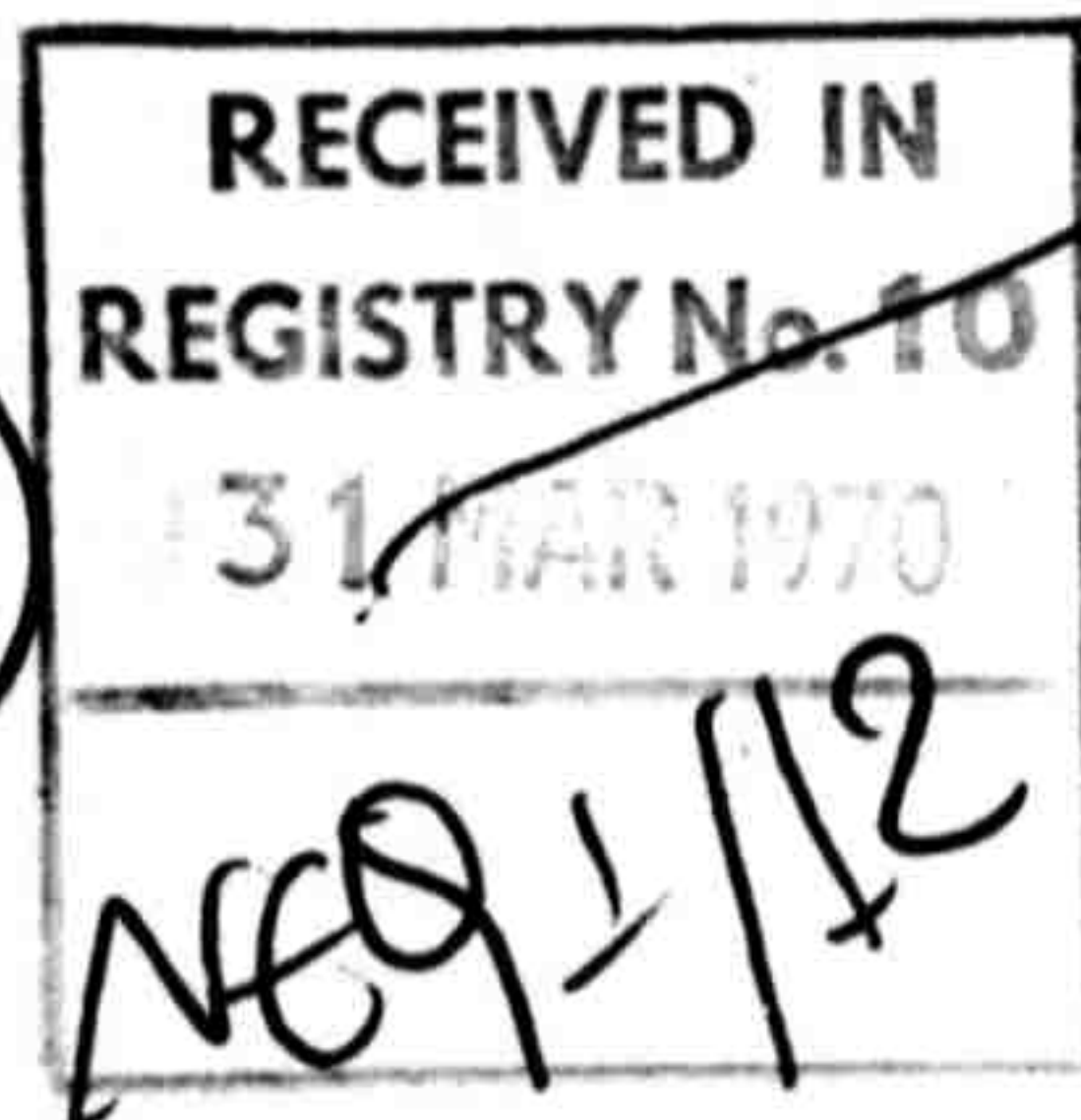
**King Hasan's messages to Algeria and Tunisia** General Muhammad Ufqir, the Moroccan Minister of Interior, has arrived in Algiers with a message from HM King Hasan to President Bumadyan of Algeria. After his visit to Algeria, the General will leave for Tunis with another personal message from King Hasan to the Tunisian President. (Rabat in Arabic 07.30 GMT 29.3.70)

**Rakah festive meeting** (Text) Rakah, the new communist list, held a festive assembly in Jaffa today [28.3.70] to mark the 50th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party in the country. The Knesset member Meir Vilner spoke and reviewed his Party's struggle for the national rights of the Arabs in the State. He stressed that the Jewish people should not be identified with the State of Israel and Zionism. (Israel in Hebrew 18.00 GMT 28.3.70)



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*With the compliments of*

**FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH  
OFFICE**

*Near Eastern Dept.  
24/3/70.*

**LONDON, S.W.1**

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BRITISH EMBASSY  
BAGHDAD

(6/17)  
(UNCLASSIFIED)

19 March 1970

The Iraqi Press reports that a special committee will be set up to study all agreements and contracts concluded between the government establishments and foreign companies.

2. The committee which will be headed by General Amash, will consist of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Oil and Minerals and Economy. The Minister of Finance and the Governor of the Central Bank will join the committee when agreements involving financial obligations are involved. It will have the power to approve, amend or reject matters submitted to it, to follow-up, implement and supervise agreements and contracts.

(A. Arnold)

Mrs. K. P. Davies,  
C. R. and E. Department,  
Board of Trade,  
Victoria St.,  
London S.W.1.

c.c. P.R.M. Hinchcliffe, Esq. ✓  
Near Eastern Department,  
F.C.O.



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M. Michell ~~25/1~~

I suppose this could be a useful piece of machinery if the Soviet agreements were ever to be revised in the light of an offer from IPC. The membership seems broadly favourable to our interest.

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Export Promotion Dept to see letter attached. ~~20/3~~

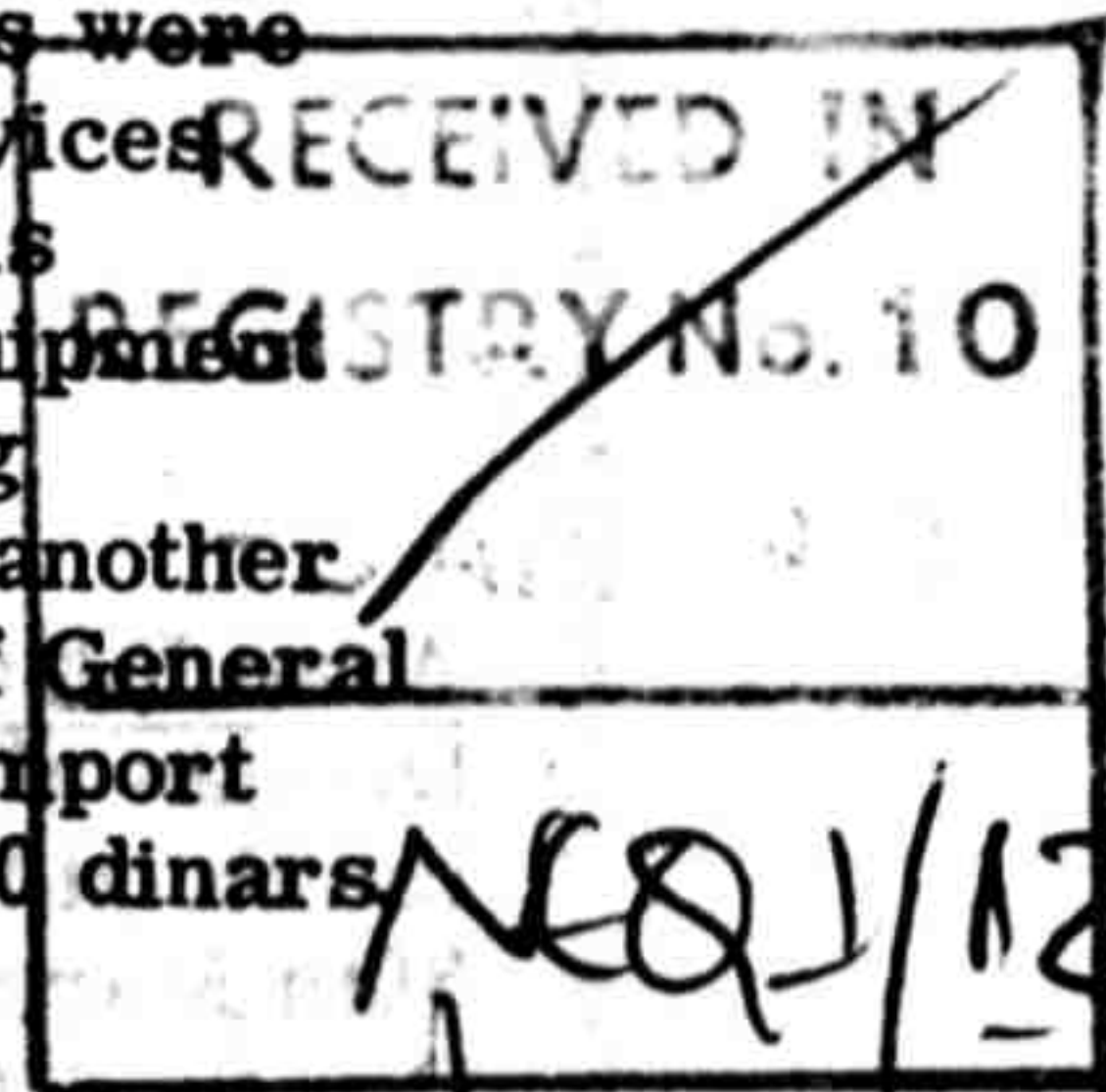
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**New companies** Some 24 Iraqi companies with a total capital of 697,100 dinars were registered in Iraq in 1969. Eleven companies are industrial and the others are commercial, transport and agricultural. Eight branches of foreign companies were also registered in the same period: Three are French and offer technical services to the oil industry and services to the industrial textile factory in Mosul, one is Italian for electrifying the Tharthar dam, another is Swedish for installing equipment for the Posts and Telegraphs Authority, another is Jordanian for implementing engineering works, another is Kuwaiti for supplying fruit and vegetables, and another is Egyptian for aviation and air transport activities. The Supreme Council of General Establishments has approved the establishment of a general company for the import of machines and equipment. The capital of the new company will be 5,000,000 dinars (INA in Arabic 15.32 and 15.35 GMT 29.3.70)



**Ministerial appointments** The Revolution Command Council (RCC) member Tahir Jazrawi is appointed Industry Minister; RCC member Murtada al-Hadithi Labour and Social Affairs Minister; RCC member Salah Umar al-Ali Culture and Information Minister; Industry Minister Khalid Makki al-Hashimi Minister of State for Military Affairs; Labour and Social Affairs Minister Anwar Abd al-Qadir al-Hadithi Transport Minister; Culture and Information Minister Hamid al-Juburi Youth Minister; State and acting Communications Minister Adnan Ayyub Sabri Communications Minister; Ihsan Shirzad Municipal and Village Affairs Minister; Muhammad Mahmud Minister for Construction of the North; Nuri Shawish Works and Housing Minister; Salih al-Yusufi State Minister; Nafidh Jalal Agriculture Minister. Shafiq al-Kamali is relieved of the post of Youth Minister and appointed Ambassador at the Foreign Ministry; Dr. Ghaib Mawlud Mukhlis is relieved of the post of Municipal and Village Affairs Minister and appointed Ambassador at the Foreign Ministry; Dr. Hamad Dalli al-Karbali is relieved of the post of State Minister and appointed Minister at the Foreign Ministry; Taha Muhyi ad-Din is relieved of the post of Minister of State and appointed Ambassador at the Foreign Ministry. (Baghdad in Arabic 19.07 GMT 29.3.70)

**New Ministry** The Revolution Command Council issued a decision on 29th March establishing a new Ministry, the Ministry of Transport. (Baghdad in Arabic 19.07 GMT 29.3.70)

**ISRAEL Technical co-operation with Panama** A technical co-operation agreement between Panama and Israel will be signed at the Panamanian Foreign Ministry on 1st April. (Panama television RPC in Spanish 23.30 GMT 31.3.70)

**Military equipment exports** Israel will this year export military equipment worth about 40,000,000 dollars. (Israel in English 05.00 GMT 28.3.70)

**Book exports** Israel's largest publishing concern and book exporter, Scientific Translations, has celebrated its 10th anniversary. It earns over 1,000,000 dollars a year from exports to 80 countries. The books are translated into English from Russian, Hebrew, German, French, Italian, Spanish, Rumanian, Ukrainian and other languages. (Israel in English 05.00 GMT 29.3.70)

**Tourism** The number of tourists coming to Israel between December 1969 and February 1970 totalled 76,400, an increase of 12,000 over the corresponding period in the preceding year. (Israel in Arabic 11.00 GMT 28.3.70)

**Bank rate** The Finance Minister, Pinhas Sapir, has signed an order cancelling the maximum interest rate of 11 per cent; the order goes into effect immediately. Banks may now collect interest without a maximum limit. However, they cannot change the interest rate on existing loans, but only on new ones or on the renewal of those whose date of redemption has expired. The maximum interest of eight per cent on "linked loans" remains in effect. (Israel in English 11.30 GMT 27.3.70)

**Industrial output** in 1969 increased by 16 per cent over 1968. The increase in production of electrical and electronic equipment amounted to 60 per cent and the increase in the production of vehicles amounted to 30 per cent. Output per work day increased by 4.5 per cent. The number of industrial workers increased by 11 per cent. (Israel in Hebrew 12.00 GMT 28.3.70)

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**A. SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND TECHNICAL****1. THE MIDDLE EAST AND ARAB AFRICA**

**Arab Education Ministers' conference** The Jordanian Education Minister, Dhuqan al-Hindawi, left Amman for Cairo on 27th March en route for Tripoli, Libya, to attend the Arab Education Ministers' conference which will be held in Tripoli on 30th March (Amman in Arabic 12.00 GMT 27.3.70). An Iraqi delegation led by Dr. Sa'd Abd al-Baqi, Minister of Education, left Baghdad for Tripoli on 28th March to attend the conference (Iraqi News Agency in English 17.03 GMT 28.3.70).

**ALGERIA Algerian-Southern Yemeni joint oil company** The Administration Board of the joint Algerian-Yemeni oil company met in Algiers on 27th March for the second time since the company was formed last year. It agreed on a programme of work for the company which was set up to carry out mining and oil exploration and exploitation in South Yemen. It was agreed at this meeting that the men and equipment needed to start the first geophysical operations should be dispatched from Algiers in early April. (Algiers in French 22.00 GMT 27.3.70)

**Health co-operation with Tunisia** At the end of the official visit to Algeria by the Tunisian Minister of Health, Idris Jija, a joint communique was issued which stated that decisions concerning medical training had been made and that it had been decided to set up a public health joint technical committee. (APS in English 11.25 GMT 25.3.70)

**Co-operation with Belgium** After a meeting in Algiers of the joint committee on scientific, cultural and technical co-operation, an Algerian-Belgian agreement on exchanges in education, culture, information, cinema and health was signed on 25th March. (APS in English 11.00 GMT 26.3.70)

**CYPRUS Co-operation with Yugoslavia** A programme for implementation of the 1969 agreement on educational, scientific, cultural and technical co-operation between Cyprus and Yugoslavia for 1970 and 1971 was signed in Nicosia on 30th March. (Nicosia in Greek 17.30 GMT 30.3.70)

**Tourist co-operation with Lebanon** See Lebanon.

**IRAN Oil pipeline to Turkey** See Turkey.

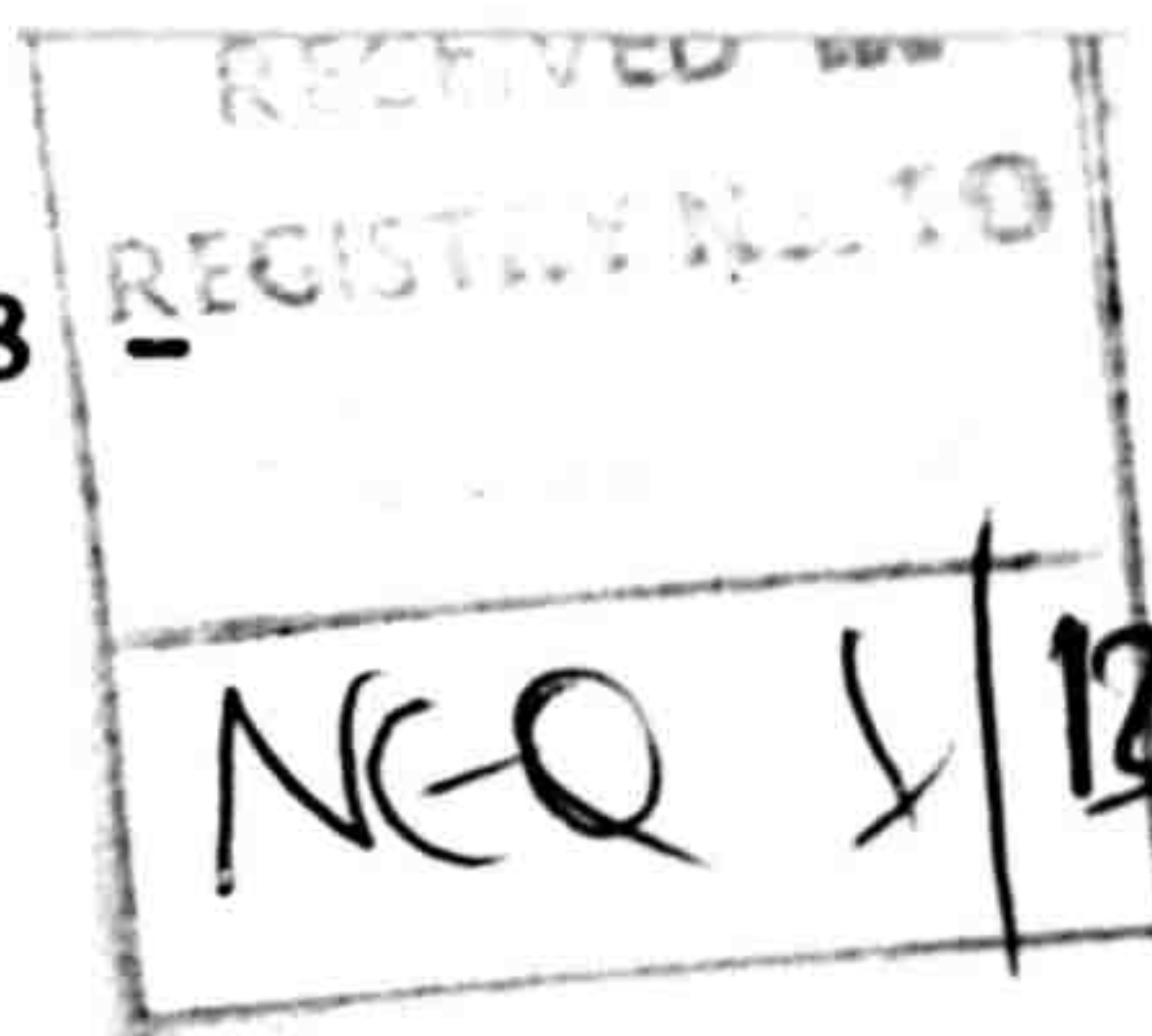
**IRAQ Yugoslav credits for capital projects** The credit committee of the Yugoslav Bank for Foreign Trade has granted credits to Invest-Import for participation in the reconstruction of a chip and shavings board factory in Iraq and to Energoprojekt for building a waterworks in Iraq. (Tanyug in English 11.17 GMT 21.3.70)

**Trade with UAR** According to the head of the UAR Commercial Centre, Yamani Filfilah, the 1969 volume of trade between Iraq and the UAR amounted to £6,000,000 sterling. Iraqi exports included raw wool, radiators, plastic materials, dates, soap, vegetable fat, lead pencils and tobacco. Iraq imports included Nasr buses, textiles, wooden furniture, batteries, tyres, cigarettes, sewing machines, bicycles, chemicals and fire extinguishers. (INA in Arabic 09.25 GMT 25.3.70)

**Oil tanker purchases abroad** A technical mission led by the Deputy Economy Minister, Hikmat al-Ghazzawi, will begin a tour to more than 20 countries next week to discuss the prospect of buying oil tankers and coastal ships worth a total of 30,000,000 dinars. (INA in Arabic 10.45 GMT 26.3.70)



March 31st, 1970

Holiday Main News And Trends, Cont'd

(25)

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On Sunday, newspapers carried a statement issued by a responsible source, saying that the Government would if necessary "use all the armed forces" in the maintenance of law and order, but that it was counting on the Lebanese wisdom and on "Lebanese-Palestinian brotherhood" to keep the situation under control. The statement said: "Resort to force, be it through the internal security forces or, if necessary, the army, can, no doubt, reestablish law and order when they are disturbed... But the use of force... is only an emergency measure, which can not be as effective as the atmosphere of understanding."

Editorial Comment. Phalangist AL AMAL Sunday appealed to the commandos not to turn their guns at the Lebanese, and warned that attacks on the Lebanese would only prompt counter attacks by the Lebanese themselves. The paper addressed the commandos saying: "Why don't we all, now that we know the mistake committed, join our guns and forces and turn our bullets in the direction of the common enemy?"

In AL NAHAR, independent right-wing, Sunday, columnist Michel Abu Jawdeh talked of the "silent majority" in Lebanon. He said that this majority "wants nothing more than peace and quiet under law and order."

In AL ANWAR, pro-UAR, columnist Basem Jisr wondered what the fighting was all about. He said: "The genuine commando sees no interest in getting involved in Lebanon's internal affairs, nor does the Lebanese state wish to liquidate the commando movement. As to the politicians, they are not unaware of the fact that pushing the commando issue in the Lebanese Presidential issue would harm Lebanon's interest... Therefore, why are all these side battles?"

Libyan Foreign Minister Here. The Libyan Foreign Minister, Salah Boussair, arrived in Beirut Sunday coming from Cairo, to meet with Lebanese officials regarding the present events in Lebanon. He told reporters that he was asked to come to Beirut by Col. Moammar Al Kazafi, Chairman of the Libyan Revolutionary Command Council and the Prime Minister, adding that Libya regards Arab blood, be it Lebanese or Palestinian, precious.

The Libyan official met Sunday with Mr Jumblat, and was due yesterday to meet with other Lebanese leaders, including President Charles Helou and Premier Rashid Karami, it was reported yesterday.

**FIVE KURDISH MINISTERS NAMED IN CABINET  
RESHUFFLE; BAKR TALKS OF GOVT. SYSTEM**

Cabinet,  
Iraq

Five Kurdish Ministers were appointed in a Cabinet reshuffle in Iraq Sunday. Four Ministers, including a member of the RCC, were dropped and appointed ambassadors at the Foreign Ministry. Three members of the RCC (Revolutionary Command Council) were also appointed in the Cabinet in the reshuffle, increasing the number of Baathist leaders in the Cabinet, apparently to balance off the number of Kurds in the Government.

This was the first time that as many as five Kurds are appointed as Ministers. They are followers of Kurdish leader Mulla Mustafa Barzani, and four are members of the Political Bureau of the Kurdish Democratic Party (KDP) headed by Barzani. A follower of Jalal Talabani, who led the anti-Barzani Kurdish faction, was among the four Ministers dropped. He is Taha Mohieddin, a former Minister of State without portfolio.



Holiday Main News And Trends, Cont'd

The three other Ministers dropped were: Chafic Al Kamali, the Minister of Youth and a member of the 15-man Revolutionary Command Council; there was no explanation on whether he was still a member of the RCC; Ghaleb Mawloud Mokhless, former Minister of Rural and Municipal Affairs; Mohammed Dalli Kebouri, Minister of State without portfolio.

New Ministers, New Ministries. The following were appointed in the Cabinet reshuffle:

Captain Taha Al Jazrawi, a member of the RCC, Minister of Industry; (Jazrawi had headed the "Special Court" which in January tried and convicted the Iraqis accused of the conspiracy to overthrow the Baathist regime in an alleged collusion with Persia);

Murtada Al Hadithi, a member of the RCC, was appointed Minister of Labour and Social Affairs; Salah Omar Al Ali, also of the RCC, was named Minister of Culture and Information.

Two new Ministries were established: The Ministry of Transport, to which was appointed, Anwar Abdel Kader Al Hadithi, the former Minister of Labour and Social Affairs; and the Minister of State for Military Affairs, a post to which Khalid Makki Al Hashimi, the former Minister of Industry was appointed. Adnan Sabry Ayoub, the Minister of State, was appointed Minister of Communications. He was also acting Minister of Communications.

The five Kurdish Ministers were as follows: Ihsan Shirzad, Minister of Rural and Municipal Affairs; Mohammed Mahmoud, Minister of Development of the North; Nour Chawis, Minister of Public Works and Housing; Saleh Al Youssefi, Minister of State, and Nafez Jalal. The last four are members of the KDP's Political Bureau. Mr Al Youssefi is the former editor of the Kurdish newspaper, AL TAAKHI, which had been suspended and which is to resume publication in Baghdad soon.

It will be noted, furthermore, that the portfolios given to the Kurdish Ministers reflect on development of the northern areas, where the Kurds reside.

The rest of the portfolios remained unchanged --and the most influential ministries remained in the hands of the Baathists. Communist Justice Minister, Aziz Sharif, retained his post.

Cabinet List. Following is the full list of the Iraqi Cabinet as it stands now:

Lt-General Ahmed Hassan Al Bakr, Premier  
Lt-General Hardan Abdel Ghaffar Takriti, Defense.  
Lt-General Saleh Mahdi Ammash, Interior  
Dr Abdel Kerim Al Shaikhaly, Foreign Affairs.  
Captain Taha Jawzrawi, Industry.  
Murtada Al Hadithi, Labour and Social Affairs  
Salah Omar Al Ali, Culture and Information.  
Abdullah Salloum Al Samarra, Minister of State.  
Aziz Sharif, Justice.  
Khalid Makki Al Hashimi, Minister of State for Military Affairs  
Anwar Abdel Kader Al Hadithi, Minister of Transport  
Hamed Al Jebouri, Minister of Youth.  
Adnan Ayoub Sabry, Minister of Communications.  
Ihsan Shrizad, Minister of Rural and Municipal Affairs.  
Mohammed Mahmoud, Minister Development of the North.  
Nouri Chawis, Minister of Public Works and Housing.  
Saleh Al Youssefi, Minister of State.  
Nafez Jalal, Minister of Agriculture  
Izzat Al Douri, Agrarian Reform  
Dr Abdel Sattar Al Jiwari, State Minister for Presidential Affairs.  
Dr Rashid Rifai, Minister of State (more)



Holiday Main News And Trends, Cont'd

Dr Saadoun Hammadi, Minister of Oil  
 Dr Souad Khalil Ismail (a woman), Minister of Higher Education  
 Dr Saad Abdel Baki, Minister of Education.

**Government Reorganization.** On Saturday, President Bakr, speaking at a press conference in Baghdad, indicated that the Government system in Iraq will undergo reorganization as a result of the settlement of the Kurdish problem announced earlier in March.

He said that a new provisional constitution, to replace the one issued late in 1968 after the Baathists seized power in Iraq, will be issued soon to incorporate the rights of the Kurdish people. It will be recalled that the March 11th Declaration on settlement of the Kurdish problem, provided for autonomy for the Kurds in the areas in the north where they form a majority.

The Iraqi President, furthermore, said that a legislature, to be officially known as the "National Council", will be established soon, and will share legislative powers with the Revolutionary Command Council. The RCC has thus far been exercising all legislative, as well as top executive powers in the country.

President Al Bakr said that the National Council will be formed of representatives of the Baath Party, the Kurdish Democratic Party, popular organizations, trade unions and other national groups. He did not say how many members will be in the projected National Assembly.

(It will be recalled that earlier speculations said that the National Council was expected to be formed of 50 members --25 Baathists, and 25 Kurds, leftists and Nasserites).

In reply to a question, he said that the Kurdish areas, where the Kurds will exercise autonomy, will be determined on the basis of a census to be taken soon of the northern population, the purpose being to determine where the Kurds form a majority.


**SYRIAN ARMY OPERATES ACROSS CEASEFIRE LINES**

Middle East

Units of the regular Syrian armed forces Saturday night crossed the ceasefire line in the occupied Golan Heights and destroyed four enemy "fortified positions", a Syrian military spokesman announced Sunday morning. He said that two Syrian soldiers were wounded.

The Syrian forces Friday night carried out a larger operation. A spokesman in Damascus said that the forces attacked as many as 21 enemy posts all along the ceasefire lines, inflicting heavy losses and casualties on the enemy. Two Syrian soldiers were wounded, and one was missing in the clashes with enemy soldiers, the spokesman said.

Later, the Israelis admitted the attack, but claimed that only one of their soldiers was killed. The Israeli delegation at the UN over the holiday submitted a note to the Security Council complaining against what the note described as "the continued Syrian aggression" into the Golan heights. Significantly, news of the Israeli complaint was reported yesterday by DAMASCUS RADIO and the Syrian press.



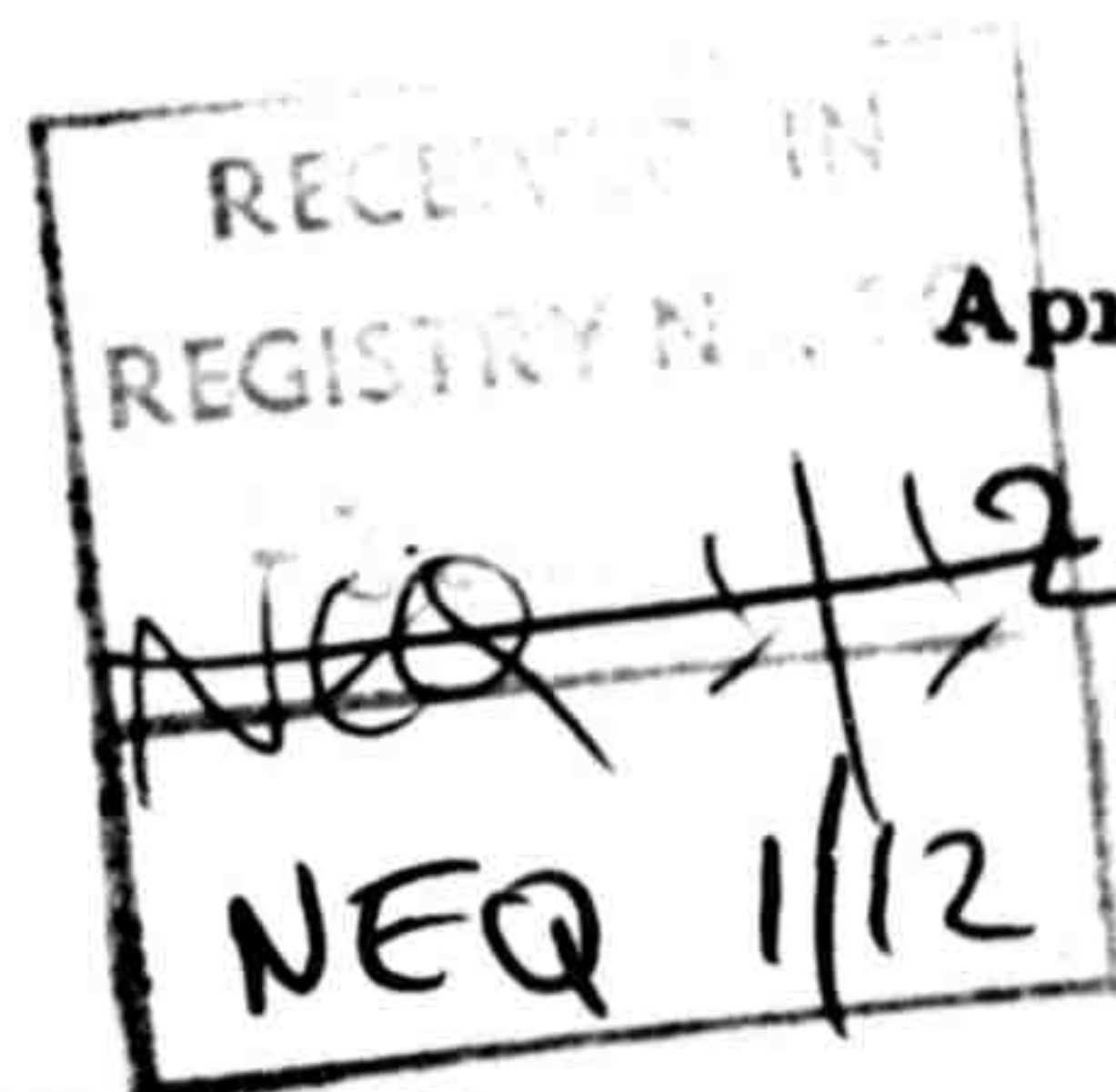
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 the MIDDLE EAST - PAKISTAN - INDIA  
**MIDDLE EAST AIRLINES AIRLIBAN**

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Iraq

16

# MEANING OF GOVERNMENT REORGANIZATION AND MILITARY RESHUFFLE EFFECTED IN IRAQ

On April 3rd, decrees issued by the Revolutionary Command Council in Iraq, declared yet a further government reshuffle. This appeared to be a sequel to a Cabinet reshuffle earlier in the week, under which five Kurdish Ministers and three Baathist leaders were appointed in Cabinet posts.

The April 3rd reshuffle, however, appeared to be at a higher level, and covered important military posts. Lt-General Saleh Mahdi Ammash, the Minister of Interior, and Lt-General Hardan Abdel Ghaffar Al Takriti, the Minister of Defense, were taken out of the Cabinet and appointed Vice Presidents. Since the rise to power of the present Baathist regime in July, 1968, Ammash and Takriti have, at the official level, been rated in the government leadership after President Ahmed Hassan Al Bakr.

To replace Takriti in the Ministry of Defense, Lt-General Hammad Chehab, heretofore the Chief of Staff, was chosen. The Commander of the Baghdad Garrison, Lt-General Saadoun Ghaidan, was appointed to replace Ammash in the Ministry of Interior. Lt-General Abdel Jabbar Shanshal was named the new Chief of Staff. Previously, he held the post of Deputy Chief of Staff.

All the reshuffle had been the outcome of the planned government reorganization which followed the settlement of the Kurdish problem under the March 11th Proclamation. The appointment of the two Vice Presidents was meant, in part, as a bid to balance off the expected appointment of a Kurdish Vice President as stipulated in the Kurdish declaration. The Kurdish Vice President is to be chosen by the Kurdish Democratic Party (KDP) led by Mulla Mustafa Barzani.

Reports over the weekend said that the KDP's Executive Committee had met at Kalala, the Barzani headquarters in the north, and decided to hold the KDP congress early in June. Speculations from Baghdad suggested that the congress will choose the Kurdish Vice President.

Beirut's AL ANWAR, known to be close to the Baghdad regime, yesterday reported in a dispatch from Baghdad that the man tipped to become Kurdish Vice President is Habib Mohammed Karim, a member of the KDP's Political Bureau. Other speculations earlier tipped Dr Mahmoud Osman, another member of the Political Bureau, to the post. AL ANWAR's report said that Dr Osman, who also headed the Kurdish team to the negotiations with the Iraqi Government, will devote his time to KDP affairs and the coordination of relations between the KDP and the ruling Baath Party.

Kurdish Commander. AL ANWAR further quoted a responsible but unidentified source at the KDP, as saying that Col. Aziz Akrawi, also a member of the KDP Political Bureau, has been tipped to become either the Assistant Chief of Staff or the commander of one of the Iraqi Army Divisions.

If this report is true, it discloses another aspect of the agreement with the Kurds that had not been made public. It shows that the Kurds will get prominent posts not only in the civilian administration but in the armed forces as well. The appointment of Lt-General Shanshal as Chief of Staff, left the post of Deputy Chief of Staff vacant. Whether a Kurd will be chosen to fill the post remains to be seen.



SPECIAL REPORTS, Cont'dIraq

Lt-General Shanshal was, at least until yesterday, in Cairo along with Vice President Lt-General Takriti, who, incidentally, appears to retain his other post of Deputy Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces. The Commander in Chief is President Al Bakr.

At the beginning, it was not clear what the two Iraqi officials were doing in the Egyptian capital --and certain newspapers printed exciting speculations because Takriti was not with the others affected in the new Government and military reshuffle, when they took the oath of office last Saturday before President Al Bakr.

The official IRAQ NEWS AGENCY (INA) has now disclosed that Takriti and Shanshal were attending the session in Cairo of the conference of Defense Ministers and Chiefs of Staff of the Arab countries in direct confrontation with Israel. It will be recalled that the heads of state of these countries met in Cairo last February.

The Balance Of Power. As usual under such circumstances, speculations in the press were quick to try to analyse the meaning of the reshuffle, particularly where Takriti and Ammash were concerned. The question raised was: is this a promotion or a demotion? It is certainly a promotion where the titles are concerned, but the fact remains that the two lost the influential Defense and Interior Ministries.

Furthermore, the decrees issued last Friday indicated that Sidam Hussein Takriti, the Vice Chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council, remained in effect the senior Vice President. There was the reminder that he, in his capacity as Vice Chairman of the RCC, will be the Acting President in the absence of President Bakr.

On the other hand, this also showed that the RCC remains the centre of power in Iraq today. And both Ammash and Takriti remain RCC members. In fact, the Cabinet itself had lost a great deal of its importance following the constitutional amendment issued last December. The unusual situation has been established where there are no Cabinet meetings any longer. Decisions basically are taken by the RCC, then sent to the various Ministries for implementation. A Minister prepares plans and submits them to the RCC for approval. There have been reported delays in implementation of projects by the Ministries because of this procedure.

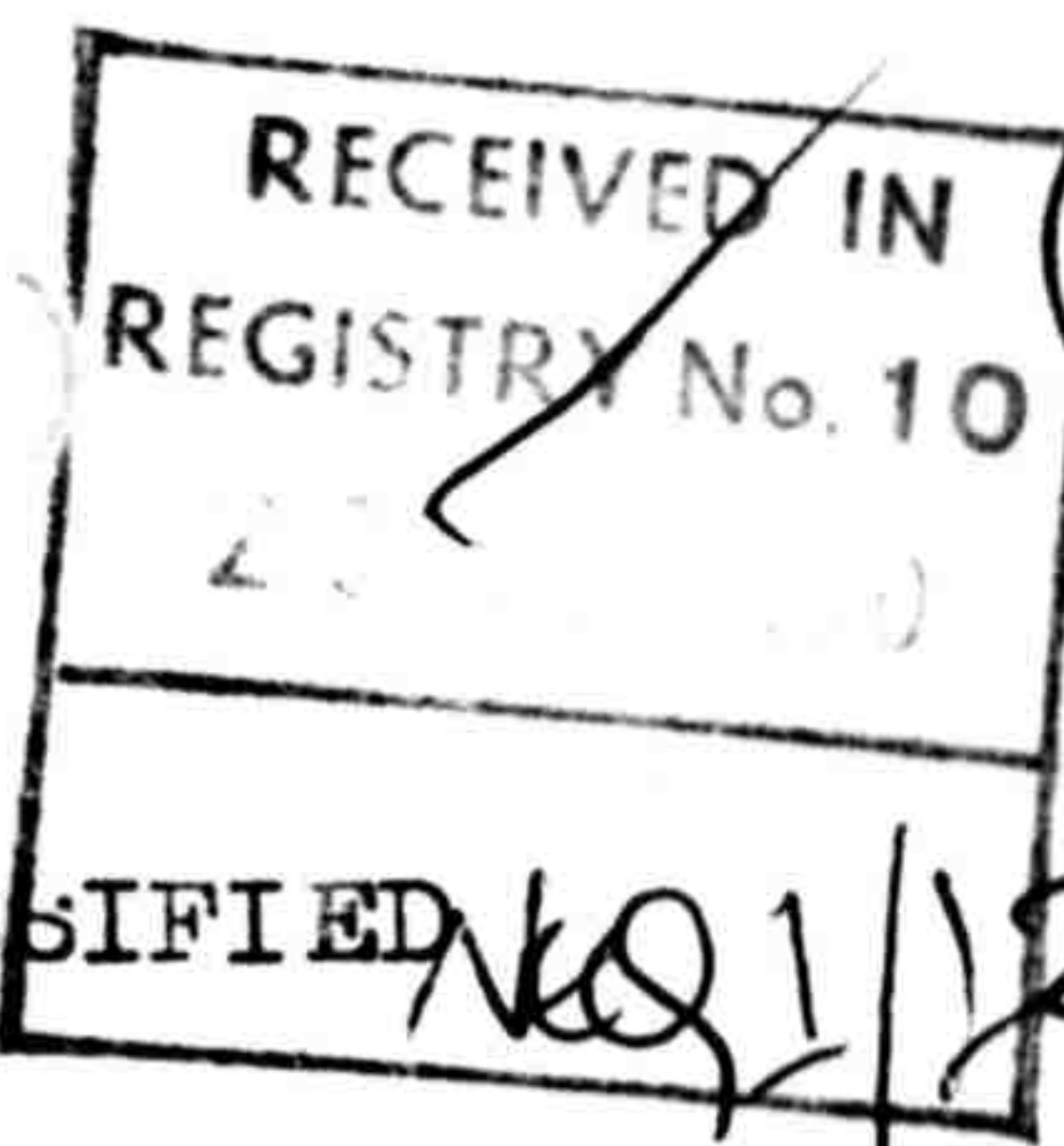
Overlapping of powers has been another problem arising from this situation. The RCC now exercises the main executive --as well as all the legislative powers, plus the making of policy. The Cabinet and the Ministries are part of the executive powers in the sense that they carry out the policy and resolutions of the RCC.

Legislative Powers. Overlapping of legislative powers may also be forthcoming. It will be recalled that at his press conference last month President Al Bakr announced that a legislature, "The National Council", will soon be established of Baathist, KDP and other representatives. The new legislature, the President said, will "share" legislative powers with the RCC. He did not explain how this sharing will be effected, but it is presumed that this will be defined in the new provisional constitution to be issued soon. The new charter is meant to incorporate the Kurdish national rights and the provisions of the March 11th Declaration.

One important factor that emerges in all the Government reorganization is this: efforts are being made, and put in legislation and laws, to keep the main powers in the hands of the members of the ruling Baath Party.

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BRITISH EMBASSY

BAGHDAD

18 May 1970

UNCLASSIFIED  
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*Jean Rie*

Television Speeches

*Reg. 10.*

*Iraq Internal*

*MM*

Last week saw a series of three long <sup>24</sup> television interviews and speeches by leading politicians here. On Monday 11 May a studio interview with General Ammash was broadcast; on 12 May a speech by Saddam Hussein to a mass rally in the ~~South~~ Stadium was televised, and on 13 May a speech by Omar Al-Ali to a workers rally at Al-Khuld Hall was also televised. These include a good deal of meat, much of it relatively fresh, which must be digested. I hope to let you have our analysis by the next bag, in the meantime you may have seen extracts from the broadcast in the Summary of World Broadcasts.

*Tom*

*Mike*

(M. K. Jenner)

P. R. M. Hinchcliffe, Esq.,  
Near Eastern Department,  
F.C.O.,  
London S.W.1.



I have acknowledged

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(to be in File: - ltr)

M. R. Long 7 (a) & 4.

Mr Egerton

ARABIAN DEPT

Overseas Labor Admin

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OIL DEPT. (M. HALL)

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BRITISH EMBASSY GISTRY No. 10

BAGHDAD

23 May 1970

NEQ 1/12

Iraqi Policies as Explained in Television  
Speeches

I promised in my letter 1/11 of 18 May to send you an analysis of the recent speeches by General Ammash, Saddam Hussein and Salah Omar al Ali. General Ammash's speech was a television studio performance but the other two speeches, Saddam Hussein's at the Scouts' Stadium and Omar al Ali's to a meeting of workers at Al-Khuld Hall, followed the pattern of popular rallies which have been held throughout the country during the past year to explain Ba'athi policy. Nevertheless, it is unprecedented for Government leaders of such stature to speak on such a wide range of topics in such detail, or for their speeches to be televised one after the other. All three speeches covered roughly the same ground, albeit with a different individual emphasis. I shall therefore deal with all three together.

2. The most important single topic was the economic situation and the need for austerity in the light of a recent series of price increases affecting fuel oil, petrol, foreign cigarettes and spirits, and a decision to stop temporarily the annual increments of Government employees, including army officers. These austerity measures have apparently produced a good deal of discontent, an example being a slogan daubed on walls near Independence Square reading "The people pay and the Ba'ath gobble it up". Such anti-Ba'ath slogans have in the past, rarely been seen, and Saddam Hussein in his speech spent a considerable time warning the people against believing the exaggerated rumours of salary cuts etc. which were circulating at the time. He explicitly refuted the slogan I have quoted above by saying that the cost of salaries paid to Ba'athist Government officials was a drop in the ocean compared to the total expenditure of the Government.

3. The apologia for the Government's recent economic measures came in two parts. First, an attempt to minimize their effect upon the individual's pocket; both Ammash and Saddam Hussein produced comparative lists of prices in other Arab countries which indicated that prices in Iraq were lower than elsewhere, whereas the Iraqi employee received more pay; they also made the point that the increased cost of petrol and fuel oil need not be passed on to the consumer in the form of higher taxi fares (privately-owned mini-buses and taxis are the commonest type of public transport). Saddam Hussein claimed that these

P. R. M. Hinchcliffe, Esq.,  
Near Eastern Department,  
F.C.O.,  
London S.W.1.

/measures

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5. Both Saddam Hussein and Ammash referred to the cost of developing the North. Not only was the Government now faced with the cost of paying pensions and salaries in the North and of resettling those displaced during the fighting, but the cost of development would also be high. Saddam Hussein made the point forcibly that these costs would together more than equal the cost of military operations there before the agreement with the Kurds.

6. Some echoes of the Government's reported financial difficulties with the Soviet Union emerged: two questions put to Saddam Hussein referred to the cost of fighter aircraft (which Ammash put at ID 1 million each) and to the arrears of debt owed to the Soviet Union from 1959 onwards. Saddam handled both questions with restraint and did not question that Iraq should pay a fair price for her fighters or that she should repay her debts to the Soviet Union. The fact that Saddam accepted questions on these subjects gives some credence to reports that the Soviet Union has recently been pressing the Iraqis hard for cash settlement of debts and has been baulking at mere promises of crude oil from Rumaila at some future date.

7. As I said earlier, it was the economic matters which took up by far the greater proportion of these speeches and this reflects the régime's preoccupation with what seems to be a serious shortage of cash. However the speeches covered almost every aspect of Iraqi policy and the following, under sub-headings, are some of the more important other subjects which were dealt with.

(a) The Eastern Front and the War of June 1967

Referring to Syrian accusations that Iraq intended to withdraw from the Eastern front, Omar al Ali replied in general terms that Iraq was in fact increasing her troops there. Saddam Hussein made the same point and developed it into an attack on the efforts of others. In 1967 there had been a lot of firebrand speeches, he said, coming over the broadcasting station of a "fraternal Arab country" (clearly Syria); there had been a lot of talk of calling up reservists and throwing the Israelis into the sea. When it came to June 1967 however the Egyptians bore the brunt of the Israeli attack on their own and it was not until 48 hours later when the Jordanian army had already been defeated that "these people" (the Syrians) attacked the Israelis themselves. Then followed what may be an attack on President Nasser. Drawing analogy from the mistake of an early Umayyid Caliph, Saddam (according to one interpretation) succeeded in implying that the responsibility for the June 1967 defeat lay with President Nasser because he had not recognised Syrian bellicosity as mere empty words. He continued: "When a man by lack of proper political and military judgement embroils his nation in a losing battle he must not remain at the helm of affairs. A person or persons guilty of engulfing the nation in a losing battle should step down from power and open the door to others to resume office in their place". The view





measures would not affect the pockets of the workers or peasants and given their nature may well be some grounds for this claim. The second line of the argument dealt with the reasons why austerity was necessary. As far as long-term economic planning was concerned, it was the Ba'athi's policy to develop the Iraqi economy to a stage at which it became independent of "Imperialist monopolies." On this point oil of course figured largely and General Ammash in particular laid special stress on the development of North Rumaila and the various projects for oil pipe lines, refineries etc. associated with it. There did not seem to be, in this part of the speech, any direct attack upon I.P.C. although earlier he had spoken of the need for the Arab national oil companies to form a united front against foreign monopolies and of the decision to hold a conference of these companies in Algiers later in the month. Ammash also mentioned other fields of industrial development - sulphur at Al-Mishraq, phosphates at Anbar, fertilizer production, the tractor factory at Iskandariyah, the new shipbuilding yard at Basra, as well as the development of the cement and fishing industries in Iraq. (If he didn't have his tongue in his cheek perhaps he ought to have done when he spoke of Iraqi exports of whisky made from dates). All these developments of course require massive investment, some of which is already provided for but much of which is not.

4. Apart from the cost of these development projects it was made clear that there was no lessening of Iraq's military commitments. Iraq, it was claimed, was strengthening her forces on the Eastern front (Ammash said they had been doubled), the cost of which was again quoted at ID 60 million a year. In reply to a question from university students Saddam Hussein said that there was no intention to cut the period of military service. Although the end of the Kurdish war had released a large number of Iraqi troops these would be required "in order to confront outside conspiracies". These conspiracies were not detailed at the time but later in his speech Saddam Hussain referred to the Gulf and to a wave of anti-Arab infiltration there supported in particular by America and Britain through the agency of Iran and Saudi Arabia. He referred also to reports that Iran is to be given military bases in the Gulf and reasserted the duty of the Iraqi Government to defend the Arab character of the Gulf by all means. In a brief mention of the Shatt al-Arab question Saddam's line was uncompromising in his refusal to accept the principle of the Iranian claim. There was a clear implication that the regime intended either to station a proportion of the troops released from the North in the South or, at least, to hold them in reserve to be used there if required. Ammash also spoke of Iraq's support of the Somali and Eritrean liberation movements against Ethiopia.





that this was an attack on Nasser rather than on the Syrian Ba'ath is by no means unanimous. If it was directed at Nasser, however obliquely, its outspokenness would provide further evidence of the Iraqi Ba'athi's growing self confidence.

(b) Nationalisation

Referring to rumours that the Ba'ath intended to nationalise real estate and small enterprises, Saddam Hussein said categorically that it was not their policy to carry out nationalisation of this sort at this time. This of course avoids the real point, which is that recent Government policy in allocating import licences increasingly to the public sector, will have at least in the trading sector, largely the same effect as nationalisation, and small businesses are in fact already feeling the effect.

(c) National Front

Saddam Hussein replied to a question on the reported arrests of communists, and we shall be reporting on the whole question of the present régime's relations with the Iraq communists separately. On the wider issue of cooperation with other political parties he repeated the Ba'athi doctrine (as reported in my letter 1/9 of 17 April) that such cooperation in a National Front Government would have to be on Ba'athi terms. These terms were specified as:-

- (i) faith in Arab unity;
- (ii) faith in the liberation of Palestine and other occupied territories;
- (iii) faith in the 11 March Manifesto;
- (iv) the correct ideological attitude towards Zionism; and
- (v) faith in the leading role of the Ba'ath Party.

A national charter, he said, was to be drawn up and published which would define the Party's views on this question. Anyone who could accept the charter would be welcome, but for those who could not there would be no hope of any cooperation. Saddam Hussein also made what appears to be a reference to a letter which, according to the Beirut press, was addressed to President Bakr on 5 April by leaders of the Arab Socialist Movement, the Independent Democrats and the National Democratic Party. We do not know the contents of this letter but Saddam Hussein said that while dwelling on minor mistakes made by the régime it ignored the major accomplishments of the revolution. Elements of this sort, he said could not possibly expect the revolution to respect their views. The Party was prepared to listen to the views of others, (presumably so long as they did not conflict with the basic policies of the Party); it had allowed articles by non-party writers in Al-Thawra, it had retained non-party men in official and military posts, yet "we cannot possibly share the



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saddle with someone who will put his hand to the saddle bag as happened on 18 November 1963". Clearly the Party has been having little success in persuading other political parties to cooperate. The proposed National Front charter when it is published will no doubt echo the already stated Ba'ath policy that the Party should retain overall leadership of any National Front. It remains unlikely that any political party other than the Kurdish Democratic Party will accept this, though it may be significant that the Ambassador was told by his new Soviet colleague yesterday that it would be entirely proper for the Iraqi Communist Party to collaborate on a National Front. One final point of importance made by Saddam Hussein in this context is that the Ba'ath will not tolerate any political activities in the armed forces. When army officers form political groupings, he said, they turn to conspiracy. The army belongs to the Central Government under the Ba'ath. If the Ba'ath succeed in achieving this of course it will be the end of an era.

(d) Labour Law

Omar al-Ali gave the greater part of his speech to a discussion of the new Labour Law which although not yet enacted has been published in the Arabic press and will be formally put into effect in June after what is termed a "popular debate". The tenor of his comments was that this Labour Law provided a new revolutionary charter for the workers, and this certainly appears to be true. The Labour Adviser, who visited us recently, will be making an analysis of the new Law in the report he is submitting. It is sufficient to say now that the Law appears to have been drafted largely by the General Federation of Trade Unions and is more markedly pro-worker than legislation in any other Arab country. One point of interest to us was that when asked at one point whether or not foreign workers would be allowed to remain in Iraq, Omar al-Ali said that, although in principle foreign labour was not a good thing, the needs of the country dictated that foreigners be allowed to work here for the present.

8. These speeches had considerable impact here. Some of the most complicated issues were explained in simple language and they were clearly a genuine attempt to inform the man in the street. In this they contrasted strongly with the ideological rantings aimed at the world outside which have become so familiar a part of the present régime. Among our old papers is one prepared by this Chancery in 1965 which came to the conclusion that public opinion did have some impact upon governmental decisions here. Times have changed since then and the present Ba'athi régime is possibly more authoritarian than any previous government in Iraq. Nevertheless, it would seem that they at least believe that this conclusion remains true and that public opinion is a force to be cultivated. Saddam Hussein actually made the claim at one point in his speech that if the Party no longer had the support of the masses they would

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remove themselves from power. However much we may deride that particular remark, it seems clear that the Ba'ath are doing their best to win popular support, or at least understanding for unpopular measures.

*Am*

*Mike*

(M.K.Jenner)

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Chancery,  
British Embassy,  
BEIRUT.

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Tel. No. 930.2323  
Ext. 1024

29 May 1970

**Iraqi Policies as explained  
in Television Speeches.**

Folio 36

I am very grateful for your recent comprehensive letter 1/11 of 23 May analysing the recent speeches by various Iraqi leaders.

2. Much of what was said was contained in monitoring reports of Baghdad radio - at quite terrifying length - therefore your guide to the main points made in the speeches is particularly useful.

3. I am giving your letter a wide circulation and will write again if there are any comments on different aspects of Iraqi policy you have mentioned.

(P. R. M. Hinchcliffe)  
Near Eastern Department

PH

M. K. Jenner, Esq.,  
British Embassy,  
BAGHDAD.

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# Minister sacked for new Iraqi plot

Reference.....

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20

PM

7/7

BEIRUT, Friday, UPI.

**[IRAQI Information and Culture Minister, Saleh Omar al-Ali, was sacked by President Hassan al-Bakr presumably on charges of "plots against the regime" 24 hours after Ali himself announced signs of a new plot against the Ba'athist rulers in Baghdad.**

Ali is a member of the 5-man ruling Revolutionary Command Council (RCC) and a leading figure in the Arab Ba'ath Socialist Party.

An official announcement in Baghdad, reporting Ali's dismissal, did not make clear his status in these organizations.

The official Iraqi News Agency (INA), in a terse despatch said, "A Presidential Decree was issued in Baghdad this morning dismissing Saleh Omar al-Ali from his post as Minister of Information and Culture."

The dismissal came in the wake of a flurry of accusations in Iraq of plots against the ruling Ba'ath regime.

Ali, in a statement earlier this week, said there were "indications of a new conspiracy against the Iraqi Government engineered by imperialism and reaction."

President Bakr charged Wednesday night that the regime was facing "a counter-revolutionary movement supported by imperialist and reactionary forces."

"The civil service has been infiltrated by saboteur elements who are attempting to place obstacles before the government," he said.

Bakr was addressing a conference of farmers in Baghdad.

From the same platform, "strongman" Vice-President Saddam Hussain al-Takriti said, "There are moves against the revolution by suspect reactionary elements and hirelings... the revolution is aware of all reactionaries and will strike with an iron fist against these renegades."

The dismissal of Ali came as a complete surprise to Middle East political quarters. He was a prominent figure in the Ba'ath leadership which seized power in the July 1968 coup.

Reports circulating in Beirut last week said the Iraqi Government was cracking down on Communists and had jailed about 290 of them.

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NEQ 1112

KAYHAN

4<sup>th</sup> July 1970

Po PM

7/7



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BRITISH EMBASSY  
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21

4 July 1970

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NEQ 112

Dismissal of Salah Omar al-Ali, Minister of Culture  
and Information

A Republican Decree issued on 2 July announced the dismissal of Salah Omar al-Ali from his post as Minister of Culture and Information and the appointment of Abdul Karim al-Shaikhly, the Foreign Minister, as acting Minister in his place.

2. It is generally thought here that this dismissal comes as a result of a disagreement between al-Ali and Saddam Hussein over the policy to be followed by the Ministry of Culture and Information. We have recently heard of a serious disagreement between the two, and a speech by Saddam Hussein to a conference of peasants on 1 July is seen by some as a rebuttal of al-Ali's televised speech to a gathering of workers at al-Khuld on 13 May (see my letter 1/11 of 23 May). Certainly the tone of al-Ali's speech on that occasion, which I did not report in great detail, was uncompromising. His major theme was the Labour Law and he drew a sharp distinction between the workers and others; for example: "Without doubt the revolution will jeopardize the interests of the surfeited class which has been living parasitically on the toil of the workers and peasants. This class, indulging in pleasures and comforts, is the real enemy of the revolution and of any other aggressive revolution. It is also the class which fabricates insidious rumours in its well-known laboratories in Baghdad". Following up the theme of rumourmongering he said: "Once therefore you detect the author of a rumour, hold him by the throat and crush him". And again: "... such fruitless pursuits which would only have their bodies put into the dirt in the same way as you would put into the dirt of the streets of Baghdad the bodies of former renegades".

3. Saddam Hussein on the other hand in his recent speech seems to go out of his way to deny that the revolution is based upon the class war. "The revolution," he says, "seeks to fill the bodies of the people and secure general welfare and prosperity, but not at anybody's expense. Everyone has the right to enjoy the comforts of life, but no-one has the right to exploit other men by means of his own wealth." In a passage defining feudalism Saddam Hussein

/says

P. R. M. Hinchcliffe, Esq.,  
Near Eastern Department,  
F.C.O.,

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NEXT REF.	





says that the feudalist is not merely the elder of a tribe, such a person is not against the revolution and must not be provoked into hostility to the party. The reactionary, he adds, is the man who pits himself against the interests and wishes of the people. Again: "The revolution is not the exclusive property of a group of people or of some section of a certain class. True, the revolution is for the workers and peasants because it was they who were oppressed and downtrodden, but the revolution has class, nationalist and national (i.e. Pan-Arab) goals and must go on struggling to remove all forms of oppression. There are wide sections of the people struggling with the workers and peasants though they do not belong to their class." Saddam Hussein goes on to say that party members must win over the people by goodwill and by their example; they must learn to distinguish between the enemies of the people and the merely naive.

4. I have compared these two speeches in some detail because there does seem to be a real difference in approach. Saddam Hussein's more moderate and conciliatory attitude would seem to be more appropriate as we approach the second anniversary of the Ba'athist revolution when the régime has dealt effectively with its enemies and needs to create a wider basis of support for itself. If al-Ali's dismissal was the result of a difference of policy in the running of this important Ministry we would expect his successor to support, as Shaikhly reputedly does, Saddam Hussein's more moderate line, and this could have implications not only for the treatment of ourselves in the Iraqi press but also for the propaganda campaigns mounted from time to time against other Arab states particularly, at present, that against Saudi Arabia. Shaikhly himself has told the Saudi Ambassador that he regarded the press invective against Saudi Arabia with disfavour.

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5. We do not know whether al-Ali is to retain his seat on the Revolutionary Command Council. The dismissal of Abdullah Salloum al-Samarra'i and Shafiq al-Kamali from the R.C.C. was not published in the press (my letter 1/2 of 14 March) and the version of the Official Gazette which we now receive no longer contains decisions of the R.C.C. from which we might learn of his dismissal.

*Ym*  
*Shifley*  
(M. K. Jenner)

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NEQ 11/12

57 22

ARAB WORLD

**INFORMATION MINISTER IN IRAQ REMOVED, BUT  
APPEARS TO REMAIN IN REVOLUTION COUNCIL**

Iraq

The Iraqi Information Minister, Mr Salah Omar Al Ali, was removed from his Cabinet post yesterday under a decree issued by the Revolutionary Command Council and signed by President Ahmed Hassan Al Bakr. There was no explanation for what appeared to be a sudden move. A second decree appointed Foreign Minister Abdel Kerim Al Shaikhly as Acting Information Minister.

Some newspapers gave leading coverage to the news --and AL HAYAT, right-wing and strongly anti-Baathist, reported a split inside the Iraqi regime (see Pages 11&12). It said that not only Al Ali had been removed also from the RCC and the Baath leadership, but that he has actually been tried and sentenced to death. It said that Al Ali had tried to establish a "leftist bloc" inside the Party against President Bakr.

[As usual, AL HAYAT carried its speculation a bit too far. In fact, Al Ali appears to remain a member in the RCC --at least until yesterday evening. The decree removing him from the Ministry of Information was issued in the morning, but at 7 p.m. yesterday, RADIO BAGHDAD reported that that afternoon Al Ali received a visiting East German delegation. The RADIO referred to Mr Al Ali as a member of the RCC. It could be that the meeting with the East Germans had been scheduled before Al Ali was removed as Minister of Information. Some informed quarters believe that the reason behind removal of Al Ali from the Ministry of Information had something to do with the way he had run AL THAWRA, the daily which speaks for the ruling Baath Party. As Minister of Information, he was said to have been in direct charge of the newspaper].

10/ PHM  
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### 59. Arkan Abadi

Shia, born in 1919. A tribesman of the Fatlah tribe of Diwaniyah. Brother of Kadhim Abadi (q.v.). Educated at the London School of Economics. Joined the Iraqi Foreign Service in 1944. He accompanied Fadhil al-Jamali to the 1946 Palestine Conference in London.

Deputy for Diwaniyah in 1947 and 1948. Resigned in 1950. Contested a by-election in 1950 but was defeated by Government action. Deputy for the Muntafiq in November 1950 and for Shamiya in January 1953. He was offered the portfolio of Agriculture by Nasrat al-Farisi during his abortive attempt to form a Cabinet in January 1953. Re-elected in 1954. Was Minister without Portfolio in charge of village and tribal affairs in Jamali's first Government (September 1953) and Minister of Social Affairs under Ali Jawdat, June 1957, and under Abdul Wahhab Murjan, December 1957.

Arkan Abadi has common sense and energy and was not a bad Minister. He claimed that he tried hard to carry out reforms while he was at the Ministry of Social Affairs, but was frustrated by caution at the top. He remained free after the 1958 Revolution and was friendly towards us. His passport was withdrawn by the Military Governor in July 1960, but he subsequently returned to Iraq and has interests in supplying oil company requirements in Iraq and the Gulf. Arrested, and his property impounded, on 22 April, 1963, for some alleged irregularity while a Minister before 1958. After some six weeks in jail he was cleared of the charges. Spent much of summer 1964 in the United Kingdom with his brother Kadhim.

He and his wife, who is the daughter of the late Jamil Mad'ai, speak excellent English. Of late he seems to have taken to drink somewhat, and can usually be found in the Alwiyah Club bar; this may be a cover for his various plotting activities.

as an agent-provocateur for Qasim, but presumably offered similar services to the Ba'ath and thereafter to the 18 November, 1963, régime. Active on the fringes of K.D.P. activity in 1964, but distrusted entirely by both them and the central authorities.

He is a shrewd and cunning little man who worked hard as a Minister but did not measure up to the task of creating and running a Government Department. Now lives by his wits.

### 61. Aziz al-Haj Ali Haidar

A former teacher, reputedly of Iranian origin, who has been a Communist activist and propagandist since at least 1948. Before the revolution he spent long periods in the political prisons of Iraq. Sentenced to life imprisonment in 1949, and tried again in 1952. He was pardoned under the general amnesty for political prisoners in July 1958. Signed the National Unity Front Charter in June 1959 as a representative of the Iraqi Communist Party and is believed to have been a member of the Central Committee responsible for Press affairs. He was a frequent contributor to the pro-Communist Press. His brother, Abdul Latif, is also a prominent Communist, and may likewise be a member of the Central Committee. He was either abroad, or escaped abroad, at the time of the February 1963 Revolution and became a member of the Higher Committee of the Iraqi People's Movement abroad. He signed a statement broadcast over Radio Peyk-e-Iran condemning the Ba'athi Government. Last heard of in Prague (summer 1964).

### 62. Aziz Sharif

Sunni, born in Ana in 1910. He began his career as a teacher but later attended the Baghdad Law College and graduated in 1933. At first a Judge in Basra and Nasariya, he was elected Deputy during Bakr Sidqi's régime. After the latter's murder Aziz resumed his practice as lawyer in Basra until 1941 when he was appointed Judge in the Baghdad Law Courts. He resigned his

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port at the end of 1944 to become an advocate and politician. A veteran Communist of long standing.

In 1945 he was at least officially allowed to form the People's Party, with himself as first President, and in the same year he first published *Al Watan*, the party organ. In 1946 he amalgamated the party with the National Unity Party run by Abdul Fattah Ibrahim (q.v.), thus forming the People's Unity Party. All three parties were dissolved in October 1947 and Aziz fled to Syria. He returned to Iraq early in 1948 and was involved with the Haqiqa Communist group which split from the Iraqi Communist Party. From 1950 onwards he was in exile in Syria and became a leading member of the Syrian Communist Party. During his exile he was deprived of Iraqi nationality. In 1958 he became a member of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Council and returned to Baghdad after the revolution.

Aziz was a member of the World Peace Council for some years, and became Secretary-General of the National Council of Peace Partisans on its formation after the 1958 revolution. He was awarded the Lenin Peace Prize in May 1960. Travelled abroad for the cause a great deal in 1959-60.

In January 1960, though he was out of Iraq, his name was put forward as one of the founding members of the Republican Party, led by his old friend Abdul Fattah Ibrahim; but a licence was refused. After the February 1963 Revolution he was active in Prague, making Communist propaganda against the Ba'athi Government. His property, and subsequently that of all his close relations, was impounded during summer 1963. Allegedly released from an Iraqi prison, with Amr Abdulah (q.v.), as an act of clemency 14 July, 1965.

Aziz has a friendly manner, personal charm and

measures in July. The Arif régime also denied him a passport in summer 1964, the first time this had ever happened to him. In September 1965 the Bazzaz cabinet were keen to include him as one of two Kurdish ministers, but Baba Ali would have nothing of it.

Baba Ali speaks excellent English and has an attractive though not very forceful personality. He visited America in 1950 and has remained in close contact with the United States Embassy. It is this, and his educational background, that has made him somewhat suspect in the eyes of many Kurds. Otherwise he might have become one of the rare leaders to command respect throughout Iraqi Kurdistan. His prestige, as his father's son, is none the less considerable. Married, with children.

#### 64. Bashir Isma'il al-Talib (Staff Colonel)

Sunni, from the Ramadi area. Was Brigade Major of 15th Brigade in 1959, instructor of the School of Infantry, 1961 and Commanding Officer of 2 Battalion 3 Brigade in 1964. Promoted to be Commander of the Republican Guard Brigade, based on Baghdad early 1965.

Colonel Bashir is an efficient and energetic soldier, and to date a staunch supporter of President Arif. With Said Sulaibi (q.v.) he saved the position in Baghdad at the time of Arif Abdul Razzaq's abortive *coup* on 15 September, 1965. He has good English and prefers to keep out of politics if he can. Married.

#### 65. Dhannun Ayyub

Born in Mosul in 1908. Graduated from the Higher Teachers' Training College in 1929 and then appointed teacher of mathematics and natural sciences in the college. He worked in the Ministry of Education until June 1954 when he was National Front Deputy for Mosul, and



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BRITISH EMBASSY

BAGHDAD.



P.H. (23)

1/2

24 July 1970

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NEQ112  
NEQ112

Dear Sir,

Dismissal of Salah Omar al-Ali,  
Minister of Culture and Information

Please refer to Jenner's letter 1/2 of 4 July. The press announced on 13 July that Omar al-Ali had been appointed an Ambassador at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, we also understand (although this has not been announced) that he has lost his seat on the Revolutionary Command Council; one possible pointer to this is the fact that the new Interim Constitution provides for a maximum of twelve members of the R.C.C. compared with fifteen under the old Interim Constitution and this would take account of the dismissal of Shafiq al-Kamali, Abdullah Salloum al-Samarrai and Omar al-Ali.

2. We have now learnt something of the circumstances of al-Ali's dismissal. It was announced shortly after he had received an East German press delegation at his office and he apparently heard of it for the first time on the radio. He immediately went to the Presidential Palace where there were angry scenes which led to him being imprisoned in Rashid Camp for a short period to cool off. He was then placed under house arrest; we do not know whether he has yet been released. This appointment to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs does not necessarily mean he has in any way returned to grace and may merely be a blind to explain the disappearance from the public view of a man who in his previous job was constantly used as the mouthpiece of the government. None of this necessarily supports reports in the Beirut press, which were taken up by Israel radio, that al-Ali was dismissed for his part in an attempted left-wing coup. We have no evidence here that any such attempted coup took place. There is however talk of a further angry scene in the Palace between al-Ali and Saddam Hussein at which some shots were fired. This sounds like purely speculative rumour based on the original quarrel and elaborating on the fact that Saddam has, since the celebrations, disappeared from public view but here - who knows?

4/18

Yours,  
JH

(J.H. Symons)

P.R.M. Hinchcliffe Esq.,  
Near Eastern Dept.,  
F.C.O.

Copied to Chancery, Beirut.

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Mr Egerton  
Robert Penrose  
was well informed  
about this! Al Ali has  
suffered for making an anti-est. speech  
P.M. Hinchcliffe  
20/7



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BRITISH EMBASSY, *in Bagdad*  
BAGHDAD.

19 September, 1970.

RECEIVED IN  
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NEQ 1/12

*Mr. dear P.M.*

Position of Saddam Hussein

In my letter 1/12 of 22 August I mentioned the possibility that the influence of Saddam Hussein, the Vice President of the Revolutionary Command Council, might be on the wane. There is now rather more reason to suppose that this is so.

2. No mention of Saddam Hussein has been made in the press except for photographs appearing on 24 August and 3 September showing him amongst the parties which saw Hardan Tikriti off to Pakistan and Lusaka respectively. Of course press silences about particular prominent members of the Ba'athist Regime have occurred in the past and have led to speculation. There is, however, rather more speculation than usual about Saddam and stories current include:-

- (a) He was shot at and wounded, though not seriously, some time around the third week in August
- (b) He has been under house arrest for some time (this is the usual explanation when a prominent personality fails to make public appearances)
- (c) He has tendered his resignation over differences in policy comparatively recently
- (d) He is busy studying for his law examinations! (Attributed to the Soviet Counsellor).

3. In present day Iraq it is extremely difficult - unlike in former times - to obtain any hard information. All that we have to go on is:-

- (a) His lack of public appearances and the fact that there has been no significant mention of him in the news for nearly a month
- (b) The Muhafiz of Baghdad, Kheiralla Talfah, who is Saddam's uncle, is reliably reported to have said that Saddam's influence was now severely circumscribed and that Ammash, who had been counselling pragmatic and moderate policies in the present Middle East situation, had greatly increased his own stature. So much so that he had now in fact moved into the palace to work more closely with President Bakr.

/4

J.P. Tripp Esq.,  
Near Eastern Dept.,  
F.C.O.,  
London S.W.1.

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4. As against this, when I asked the Chief of Protocol two days ago about a possible interview with Saddam over the Rogers case, he did not seem to think that there would be any great difficulty. This I doubt, though I am putting in a bid just to see what happens. It is too early to reach any firm conclusion.

*Yours Ever*  
*D. F. Hawley*  
(D.F. Hawley)

Copied to:-

D.L.L. Stewart Esq., C.M.G.,  
British Embassy,  
Cairo.

E.F. Given Esq., C.M.G.,  
British Embassy,  
Beirut.

D.F. Murray Esq.,  
Tehran.

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Reference No. 1/12

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Copied to

David Miller (Cannon House)  
Gordon Nixon (US Embassy)  
ICD  
P/SB  
R/SB (014)  
RESEARCH DEPT

Ammash is at  
least a snake one  
knows about!

BRITISH EMBASSY

BAGHDAD

26 September, 1970

Enter 1/10  
MUM  
2/10

M. E. G. 1.10  
M. H. G. 1.10

24

RECEIVED IN  
REGISTRY NO. 10  
1970

Mr. de la Perre.

NEQ 1/12

# POSITION OF SADDAM HUSSEIN

There is continued speculation in Baghdad about the position of Saddam Hussein and there possibly have been some new developments since my letter of 1/12 of 19 September, 1970.

2. It is common in Baghdad, of course, for prominent persons to do the disappearing and reappearing trick. Saddam is now the latest to have pulled this off. He made a public appearance on 22 September in the company of President Bakr and Ammah, when they paid a joint visit to the Medical City. This appearance was shown on the television and was reported in the press. None the less Saddam has remained very quiet and people are still trying to puzzle out if there has been a real shift of the balance of power within the Revolutionary Command Council.

3. One indicator is that Shafiq Al Kamali, who has until recently been the Iraqi Ambassador in Madrid, has been recalled to fill the position of Minister of Information vacated by Salah 'Omar al Ali who was pushed out by Saddam in June and remains in voluntary exile in Cairo. Although such definite descriptions can be misleading in Iraqi politics, Shafiq Al Kamali is regarded by some as comparatively moderate. He was also one of the first of the inner circle to have been ousted by Saddam. He held the position of Minister of Youth Affairs, as well as being a member of the R.C.C., until 19 March, 1970, and was then relieved of his post at the same time as Abdullah Sallum. Al Samarraï was dismissed from his post as Minister of Information. (The latter specifically disagreed with Saddam over Kurdish policy inter alia). The reinstatement of Shafiq Al Kamali is widely believed here to show a diminution in the influence of Saddam. It is significant that one of Al Kamali's first acts was to reinstate Tariq Abdul Aziz as Editor of the Party newspaper Thawra, who was dismissed at roughly the time of Abdullah Sallum's downfall.

/Culture  
and

4. There are also rumours about another member of the Revolutionary Command Council, Abdul Khaliq al Samarraï. It is said that he may have lost his position on the Revolutionary Command Council though the circumstances are far from clear. If this indeed has happened, it is possible that the decision was made at one of the large-scale party meetings held in the Khuld Hall, Baghdad's largest meeting place, during the last week. The building was surrounded by

/armoured

J. P. Tripp, Esq.,  
Near Eastern Department,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office,  
LONDON S.W.1.

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- 2 -

armoured vehicles on Monday, 21 September and again on Wednesday, 23 September but very little has leaked out as to what took place there. We are inclined to think that the meeting on Monday was largely concerned with Iraq's policy in Jordan but it is possible that internal party matters were discussed at this meeting as well as at the meeting on 23 September and the editor of Ta'akhi told me on 24 September that, although he had no firm news about what had taken place in the meetings, there were rumours that there was an election for the position of Assistant Secretary General of the Regional Command of the Ba'ath (Saddam's post), and that Saddam had obtained only three votes to Abdul Khaliq al Samarra'i's twenty. Despite this Saddam had by some manoeuvre retained his position as Assistant Secretary General.

5. Possibly this manoeuvre might explain the rumours about Abdul Khaliq al Samarra'i but it came as a surprise to us that there were any elections for offices in the Regional Command of the Party, although there were stories about two weeks ago that both Saddam and Ammah had submitted lists to the Party putting forward their proposed candidates and that an "election" had ended in deadlock. It is therefore possible that one of the meetings this week was held in order to resolve problems of Party leadership.

6. We are still left guessing about whether there has been any really significant shift in influence within the Party. However, it does seem as if Saddam's star has waned somewhat and that the earlier indication we gave of this was correct. My own impression - and I confess that we have precious little to go on - is that the balance has been tilted in favour of Ammah. Although there was some evidence of a shift in balance before this, the meeting on 10 September to consider the hijackings appears to me likely to have been one of the turning points.

*Yours Ever*

*D. F. Hawley*

(D. F. HAWLEY)  
Chargé d'Affaires

Copied to:

D.L.L. Stewart, Esq.,  
British Embassy,  
CAIRO.  
D. F. Murray, Esq., TEHRAN.  
D. F. Given, Esq., C.M.G.,  
BEIRUT.

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CYPHER CAT A

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TOP COPY

PRIORITY BAGHDAD

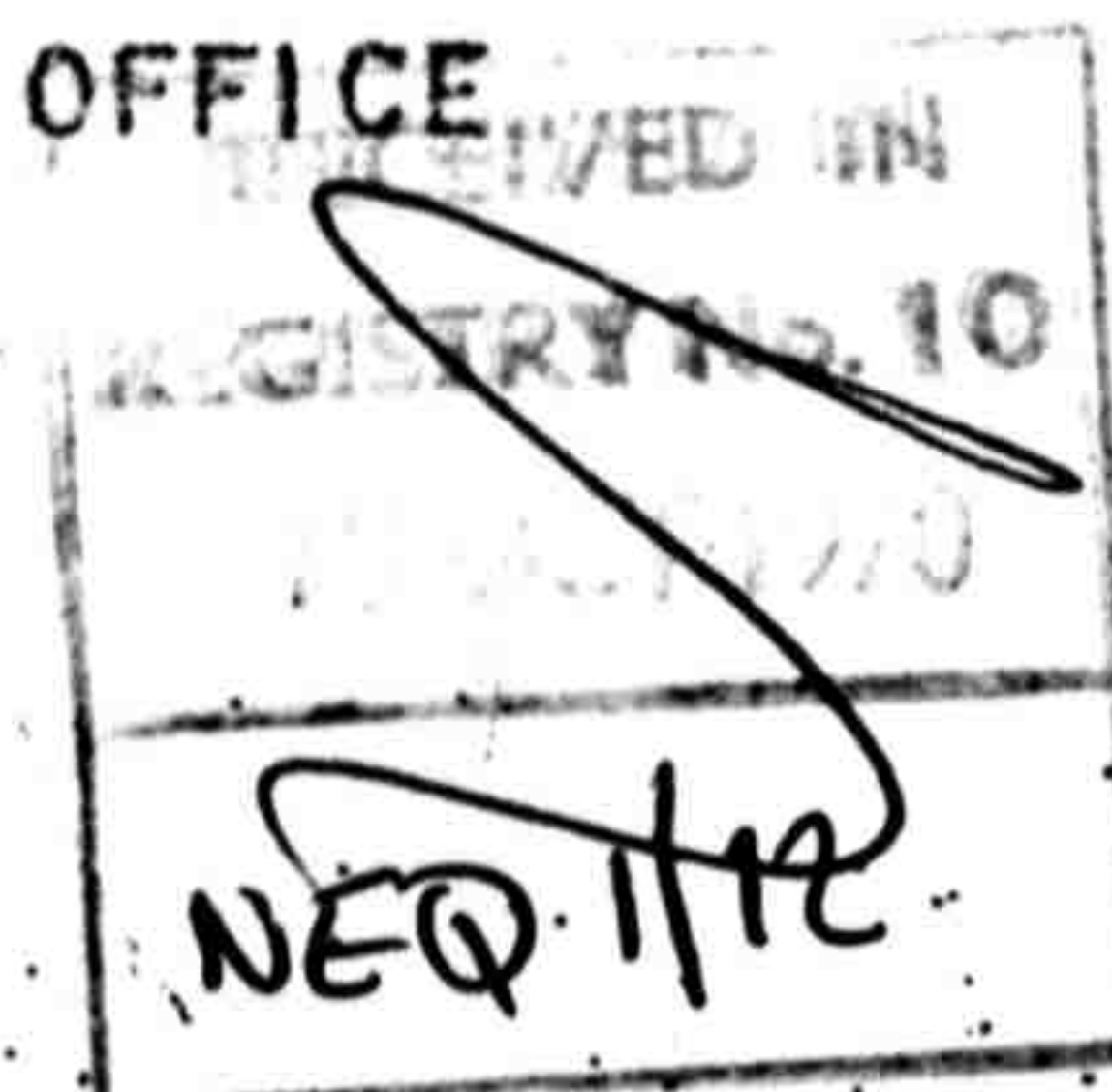
TO FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE

TELNO 730

16 OCTOBER 1970

CONFIDENTIAL

160925Z



ADDRESSED TO FCO TELNO 730 OF 16 OCTOBER AND R F I ROUTINE TO CAIRO.  
BEIRUT TEHRAN BAHRAIN AMMAN AND KUWAIT.

MY TELNO. 726 : TIKRITI.

THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF TIKRITI'S DISMISSAL WAS MADE P.M. 15 OCTOBER, AT WHICH TIME HE WAS REPORTEDLY IN FLIGHT RETURNING FROM MADRID TO BAGHDAD. WE HDO NOT YET KNOW WHAT HAPPENED ON HIS ARRIVAL IN BAGHDAD LAST NIGHT ( ASSUMING HE ARRIVED).

2. THOUGH WE HAVE NO FIRM EVIDENCE, THERE HAVE BEEN STORIES CIRCULATING FOR SOME TIME THAT HARDAN TIKRITI AND THE MILITARY WERE CONTEMPLATING SOME PUTSCH AGAINST THE CIVILIAN BA'ATH. POSSIBLY SOME PLOT WAS DISCOVERED IN HIS ABSENCE. MORE PROBABLY, THOSE WHO WISHED TO GET RID OF HIM ANYWAY HAD REACHED THE CONCLUSION THAT THE TIME WAS RIPE AND THEIR OWN POSITION STRONG ENOUGH TO ACT.

3. HARDAN'S POWER HAD BEEN EFFECTIVELY WEAKENED SINCE HE WAS " KICKED UPSTAIRS " TO THE VICE PRESIDENCY, EVEN THOUGH SOME COMMENTATORS CONSISTENTLY PROPHESED A COME BACK. DURING THE LAST FEW MONTHS HIS ROLE SEEMS LARGELY TO HAVE BEEN IRAQ'S MOVING AMBASSADOR ABROAD. HE IS WELL DISPOSED TO THE UK, BUT HIS FALL WILL MAKE LITTLE IMMEDIATE DIFFERENCE TO ANGLO/IRAQI RELATIONS IN PRACTICAL TERMS, SINCE HIS INFLUENCE HAD ALREADY BEEN GREATLY REDUCED.

/4. IT IS

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-2-

4. IT IS JUST POSSIBLE THAT HARDAN AND HIS SUPPORTERS HAVE SOME CONTINGENCY PLAN FOR THE PRESENT EVENTUALITY AND THAT THIS MAY LEAD TO TROUBLE. ALTERNATIVELY HIS TREATMENT MIGHT CONCEIVABLY PROVIDE THE SPARK FOR SOME OPPORTUNIST TO TRY HIS HAND AT OUSTING THE GOVERNMENT, RELYING ON THEIR PRESENT WIDESPREAD UNPOPULARITY. THERE ARE NO OVERT SIGNS OF TENSION AS YET.

FCO PLEASE PASS ROUTINE TO TEHRAN.

MR. BALFOUR PAUL

[REPEATED AS REQUESTED]

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ARAB DEPT.  
MOD INTERNAL

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pm  
19/10

**Dismissal of Iraqi Vice-President** Baghdad radio announced that, at its meeting on 15th October, the Revolutionary Command Council had decided to relieve Air Marshal Hardan Abd al-Ghaffar (Tikriti) of all his military and civilian posts, to place him on pension and appoint him Ambassador at the Foreign Ministry. The Iraqi News Agency said that Hardan Abd al-Ghaffar and his delegation were due back in Baghdad that evening from an official visit to Spain.



EN CLAIR

27  
TOP GOPT

IMMEDIATE BAGHDAD  
TELEGAM NO. 726

TO F C O  
16 OCTOBER 1970

UNCLASSIFIED

160723Z

RECEIVED IN REGISTRY No. 10 16 OCT 1970
NEQ 1/12

ADDRESS TO F C O TELNO . 726 OF 16/10 REPEATED FOR INFORMATION  
(PRIORITY) TO CAIRO, BEIRUT, TEHRAN, BAHRAIN, AMMAN AND KUWAIT.

19/10

THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMAND COUNCIL ISSUED THE FOLLOWING  
ANNOUNCEMENT ON THE EVENING OF 15 OCTOBER :

"THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMAND COUNCIL SITTING ON OCTOBER  
15 , 1970 , RESOLVED TO:

1. RELIEVE AIR FORCE GENERAL HARDAN ABDUL GHAFAR OF ALL  
HIS MILITARY AND CIVIL POSTS AND PLACE HIM ON RETIREMENT.

2. SD. HARDAN ABDUL GHAFAR IS APPOINTED AMBASSADOR AT  
THE FOREIGN MINISTRY "

FCO PASS PRIORITY KUWAIT.

MR. BALFOUR PAUL

/REPEATED AS REQUESTED/

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NNNNN





EN CLAIR

ROUTINE ALGIERS

TELEGRAM NUMBER 314

UNCLASSIFIED

TO FCO

20 OCTOBER 1970

201616Z

ADDRESSED TO FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE TELEGRAM NUMBER 314 OF 20/10 REPEATED FOR INFORMATION TO BAGHDAD, BEIRUT AND CAIRO.

Per  
20/10

DISMISSAL OF IRAQI VICE PRESIDENT.

IT IS RELIABLY REPORTED HERE THAT TAKRITI HAS ARRIVED IN ALGIERS.

MR. LE QUESNE

FCO DISTRIBUTION  
NEAR EASTERN D.  
MOD INTERNAL



NE  
BB ~~WTF~~

ECONOMIST

24 OCT 1970

Cutting dated \_\_\_\_\_, 19

29

DTM, (3)

Iraq and Syria

**When heads begin to roll**

The cumulative shock to the Arab world of the war in Jordan and the death of President Nasser is taking its toll of political and military heads. The first to fall have been in Iraq and Syria. The ruling Baathist parties in both countries, besides slanging each other, have long been split between their military and civilian wings. The failure of the Iraqi army to intervene in the Jordanian fighting and the humiliation of the Syrian armoured brigades which rolled into Jordan only to beat a hasty retreat have exacerbated the differences within each regime.

In Iraq the scapegoat for the regime's failure to honour its pledges to help the Palestinians is Air Marshal Hardan Takriti, a vice-president and one of the pillars of the government. Hardan Takriti, popular with the armed forces and their champion in the ruling circle, was suddenly dismissed from all his posts on October 15th. It is said he was in Mafrag during the fighting in Jordan to ensure that the Iraqi army units kept

out of the battle. His sacking is a victory for the party secretary, Saddam Takriti, another strong man in the regime and the architect of last year's mass trials and executions. But Hardan Takriti out of office will be a greater threat to the regime than he was in power, for the armed forces will become even more restless without his influence in Baghdad.

The Syrian upset has the same roots as that in Iraq but the conflict between the army and civilians there has taken a different course. In Damascus there have been four major casualties: Syria's president and prime minister, Dr Nureddin al Atassi, the Baath party secretary-general, Salah Jadid, and two of Jadid's close associates, the former prime minister, Youssef Zayyen, and the former foreign minister, Ibrahim Makhos. The man who appears to have come out on top is the defence minister, General Hafez Assad.

Salah Jadid is said to have intended to make his old enemy Assad take the blame for the army's failure in Jordan. Assad had opposed the intervention and refused to allow the Syrian air force to support the armoured brigades' attack. Jadid is also thought to have met the now deposed Iraqi vice-president, Air Marshal Hardan Takriti, in August and, despite the bitter relationship between the Iraqi and Syrian Baathists, to have agreed with him to bring the two countries into a military and diplomatic alliance. But Assad struck first. Atassi resigned the presidency and prime ministership, Zayyen and Makhos were put under house arrest and Jadid has disappeared.

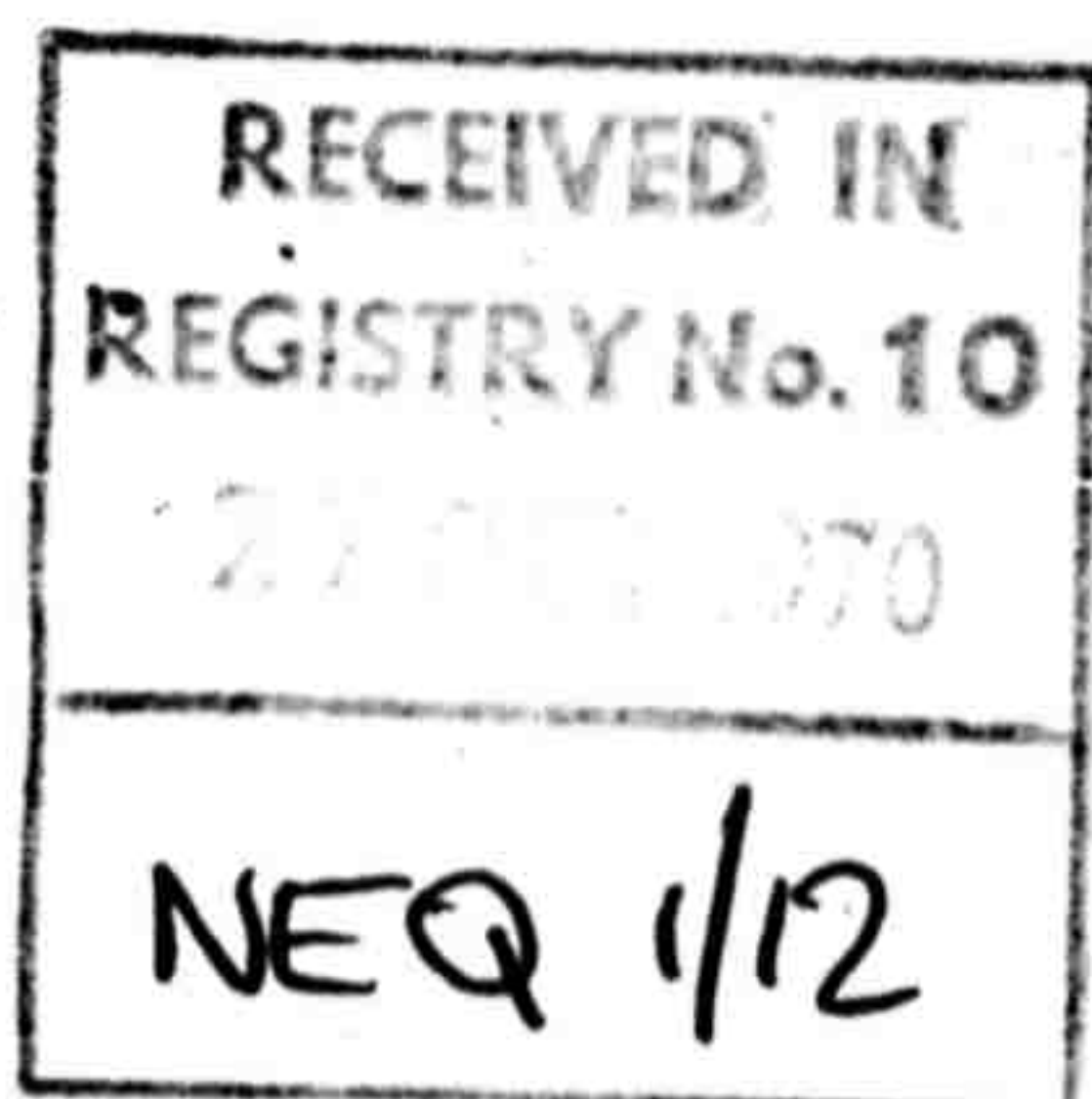
In the spring of 1969 a similar confrontation between Assad and Jadid ended in compromise after a special meeting of the Baathist congress. The present rumpus could have the same ending, since attempts are being made to convene a congress next week. Assad may be forced to compromise again to ensure the supremacy of the Alawite group within the government. Both he and Jadid belong to this religious minority sect.

The development of the Syrian leadership crisis will be watched closely in both Israel and Russia. Jadid and his associates are marxist and have become increasingly dependent on military aid from the Soviet Union. For them the creation of a marxist one-party state has been more important than Arab unity or a militant attitude against Israel. Assad, on the other hand, is foremost a nationalist who harbours deep suspicions about Soviet influence in Syria. He believes Syria should repair its relations with the rest of the Arab world and concentrate on the confrontation with Israel.

Reg NEQ  
Copy NES

Spa.

27/10



COPY ON NES 1/1



CONFIDENTIAL



BRITISH EMBASSY,

BAGHDAD.

24 October 1970.

Dismissal of Vice-President Tikriti

We have already reported the bare facts of Hardan Tikriti's dismissal in our telegrams nos. 726, 730 and 743 (not to all). It is reported that he was informed of his dismissal on his arrival in Beirut from Madrid and officials from the Iraqi Embassy there attempted to persuade him without avail not to board the flight to Baghdad. On arrival here the other passengers in the 'plane were disembarked without even the normal customs and passport formalities. Tikriti then insisted upon disembarking himself, but was, according to our version, put back on the 'plane which then flew him to Athens. Another version is that he spent one night in the Palace here and was shipped out next day by military aircraft. The report of his arrival in Algiers has since been confirmed (see Algiers Telegram no. 314 of 20 October), however his present whereabouts are not certain and you may have heard reports on the B.B.C. that the Algerian government had refused him entry and returned him to Athens. His family, for what that is worth, have just obtained visas for Austria (he himself had one already).

2. The reasons for Tikriti's dismissal and for its timing are, of course, the subject of endless speculation here. Everyone has his pet theory. The Spanish claim that Tikriti's unashamedly anti-communist remarks during his Madrid visit were reported home and gave offence. The Austrians claim to have heard that an indiscreet conversation with Abdul Rahman Aref in Cairo had been tape-recorded. Many people believe that a military plot against the régime was afoot and that Tikriti was implicated. Some associate his fall with developments in Jordan, though even on this point there are conflicting theories - on the one hand that he was regarded as a convenient scapegoat for the inactivity of the Iraqi Army during the Jordanian crisis, and on the other that, as a leading hawk wishing to commit the Iraqi forces to battle, he had fallen foul of the Party bosses opposing their timid equivocations. And so on. The plot theory gained support from reports of firing in Rashid Camp and elsewhere after the announcement of his dismissal, but these reports are as usual unsubstantiated and, even if true may reflect no more than the discontent within the Armed Forces, which might reasonably have been expected to follow the news of his dismissal. (Army Officers who appeared on television that evening were said to have been scarcely able to control their anger.) Moreover, since a number of his military supporters are believed to have been taken into custody as a normal Iraqi precaution, firearms might well have been discharged in the process.

3. One or more of these theories may explain the immediate pretext for Hardan's dismissal. In our view his ultimate fall from power /was

P.R.M. Hinchcliffe Esq.,  
Near Eastern Dept.,  
F.C.O.

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was in any case only a matter of time. Quite apart from the personal rivalry of Ammash, the Party bosses have never forgiven him for the part he played in ousting the Ba'ath from power in 1963. Whether or not, as some allege, he took out a Party Card last August, the present Ba'athist clique have never regarded him as one of them. Moreover there has been a continuing process of civilianising the government, which may be said to have started in November last year when the old R.C.C. of five military members was expanded to include ten civilians from the Regional Command; and this was taken a step further early this year with the removal of both Generals, Ammash and Tikriti, from Ministerial office. But Ammash has been more successful than Tikriti in developing a civilian interest; as Vice President he has retained an influential position, particularly in economic matters, not least in the important field of relations with the I.P.C. Tikriti, on the other hand, since his elevation to the Vice Presidency, has been little more than a commis voyageur with such prestigious jobs as attending Nasser's funeral and the Non-Aligned Conference in Lusaka. Precisely why the Party chose this moment for his final degradation must remain obscure, but we ourselves would hazard a guess that the return from Jordan of the Iraqi forces, known to contain critics of the régime, may well have played its part. }les

4. We can of course only speculate on the effect which Tikriti's removal will have. As we have already reported there is likely to be little effect on Anglo/Iraqi relations; Tikriti has always been noticeably Anglophile but his removal in recent months from any position of real power has made it impossible for him to influence Iraqi policies in our favour. On the internal scene his dismissal may well be more significant. The armed forces are now divided politically and the removal of their very popular figurehead has almost certainly caused discontent. It may be that this will be the impetus which, in the longer term, will set in motion a serious attempt to remove the present régime.

*M. K. Jenner*  
(M.K. Jenner)

Copied to:-

Chancery,	Chancery,	Chancery,	Chancery,
Cairo,	Beirut	Algiers,	Vienna



CONFIDENTIAL

Near Eastern Department,

Foreign and Commonwealth Office  
London S.W.1

(NEQ 1/12)


11 November, 1970

Thank you for your letter 1/12 of 31 October. I found it most helpful to have your answers to a number of questions which, as a newcomer to Iraqi affairs, I had been asking myself.

2. It was widely believed here after Iraq's spectacular non-intervention in Jordan during the September civil war that the Iraqi régime was in serious trouble. Symptoms quoted included the régime's widespread and growing unpopularity, its shortage of money, its postponement of the census in Kurdistan and the dismissal of Hardan Tikriti. However, your letter has put a different interpretation of these developments.

3. You mention how dull Bulloch, the Daily Telegraph man, had found his visit to Baghdad. His inability to find a single story to file did not prevent him from bursting into print on his arrival in Beirut; I enclose a copy of an article of his which the Daily Telegraph published on 7 November.

4. We should be most grateful if you would let us know how relations develop between the central government and Barzani. With winter on the way, we suppose that not much will be going on in Kurdistan itself.

  
(R.M. Evans)

17/11

His Excellency, Mr. H.G. Balfour Paul, C.M.G.,  
BAGHDAD.

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Wm R. ROBERTS

**CONFIDENTIAL**

(35)

to Regy & P.

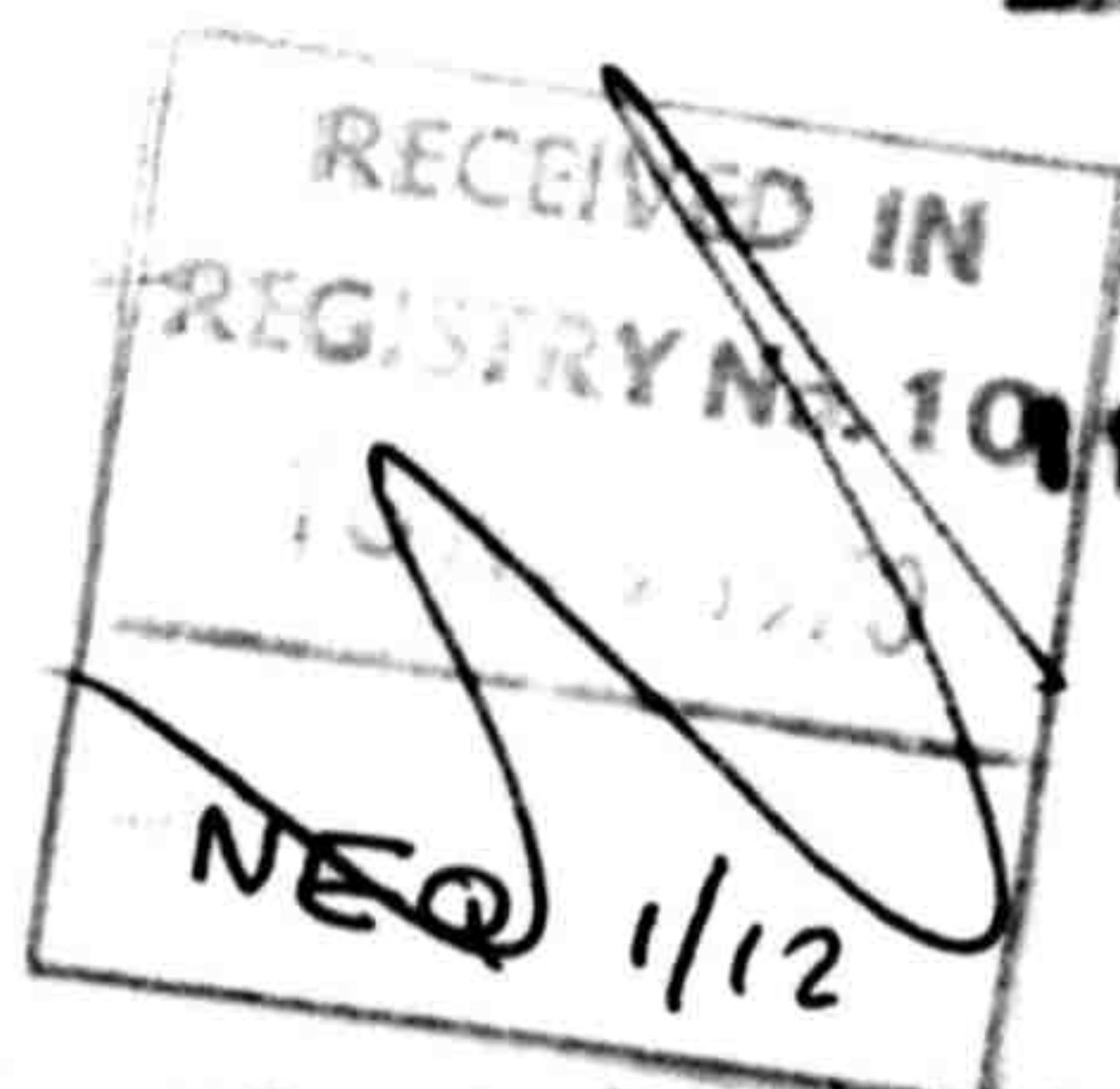
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BRITISH EMBASSY,

ALGIERS.

(1/6)



11 November, 1970

Vice-President Tikriti

(30)

Thank you for sending me a copy of your letter of 24 October to Hinchcliffe about Vice-President Tikriti's dismissal. I note that when you wrote it you were in doubt about Tikriti's whereabouts.

2. As far as we know, Tikriti is still here in Algeria. Certainly he was here on 1 November and was invited to the presidential reception that evening to celebrate the anniversary of the outbreak of the Algerian revolution. He was by no means placed below the salt and in fact spent most of the evening in a small, select group with the President and senior ministers of the government. We do not know whether he has in fact been granted asylum, although a senior official in the Algerian Ministry of Foreign Affairs inferred as much to me a week or so ago. The Iraqi Ambassador has told my Ambassador that he expects Tikriti to stay here for the time being.

3. I do not know whether the news of the death of Tikriti's wife has penetrated to Baghdad. She died on 24 October, i.e. soon after his arrival here, and her funeral was attended by senior members of the Algerian establishment.

(J. R. Johnson)

M. K. Jenner, Esq.,  
Baghdad.

Copied to: Chanceries: Cairo  
Beirut  
Vienna

P. R. M. Hinchcliffe, Esq.,  
Near Eastern Dept., F.C.O.

**CONFIDENTIAL**



7 NOV 1970

NEQ 1/12

Cutting dated ..... 19

# IRAQ RULERS PURGE ARMY IN FIGHT TO RETAIN POWER

By JOHN BULLOCH in Beirut

**T**HE civilian rulers of the Baath party in Iraq are moving quietly and ruthlessly to eliminate the last pockets of resistance to their ideas.

The army, a potent political force in its own right, is the latest target. What is going on is not a struggle for power, but a purge.

All power is in the hands of the 15-member Revolutionary Command Council, which is dominated by civilians.

These are party ideologists who are determined that old loyalties will not be allowed to check the course of "the revolution."

Iraq's failure to intervene on the side of the guerrillas during the Jordan civil war was made the excuse for the purge.

Marshal Hardan Takriti, the Vice-President and a senior Army officer in the Government, was accused of holding back the Iraqi forces, despite all his extravagant promises.

He was dismissed and exiled. But if there had been no conflict, another excuse would have been found.

In Baghdad I asked a senior official why the Marshal was dismissed. "He was becoming the centre of a grouping," replied the official, a senior party member.

"We cannot afford groups, or even the possibility that individuals may become centres of attention."

Then, obviously remembering Western reaction to the earlier brutal hangings in Baghdad, he added: "But we gave Marshal Takriti everything he asked for, money, goods, and let him leave the country."

## Officers executed

Now, according to reports from Iraq, "something else" is going on. At least six Army officers are reported to have been executed and others have been dismissed or transferred.

Among those known to have been removed from their posts are Brig. Taha Shakarji, the man mainly responsible for thwarting last January's attempted coup, and Major-Gen. Hassan Nagib, Assistant Chief of Staff, who was in command of all Iraqi forces in Jordan.

The Army has always been the biggest threat to the régime. The Baath party has no popular, broadly-based support, and rules by a system of fear.

Secret police watch every move and infiltrate every organisation, so that opportunities for plotting are minimal except within the close-knit ranks of the Army.

## Young and able

The young and able technocrats who have taken over the country's administration work desperately within the confines of party dogma to deliver the goods which the rulers have promised.

Given time, and with big Russian aid, the administrators will probably transform their country, but the purge now going on shows just how unsure the Baathists feel.

They know they are insecure and they believe that they have to be ruthless with any opposition detected.

## Arafat calls for sacrifices

By Our Cairo Correspondent

**YASSER ARAFAT**, the Palestinian guerrilla leader, yesterday pledged at a Cairo rally to continue "with soul and blood" the path that began with President Nasser.

Mr Arafat, describing the former President as "the martyr of Arabism and the Palestinian revolution," said the Arab nation now faced the challenge of "despots, world Zionism and world imperialism and must strike all forms of sacrifices, thorns and pains."

The present generation, he said, was the "generation of the sacrifices and martyrs but would also be the generation of victory."

"We shall pay the price, no matter how costly or high," Mr Arafat declared to 20,000 people gathered to commemorate the 40th day after President Nasser's death.

General Mohamed Fawzy, the Egyptian War Minister, led units of the Egyptian Army to President Nasser's mausoleum, where they laid wreaths of flowers and stood in silent tribute for two minutes.

36

A. J. M. M.

11/11



LAST PAPER

No AM  
28/11

23/11/70

**Iraqi Statement on Tikriti's Dismissal****Baghdad home service in Arabic 11.30 GMT 20.11.70****Text of Iraqi Ministry of Information statement to Iraqi News Agency:**

In its last edition the Cairo magazine 'Al-Musawwar' published a statement attributed to Yasir Arafat, Chairman of the PLO Central Committee. This statement was circulated by Arab and world news agencies. The statement says that among the reasons for relieving Air Marshal Hardan at Tikriti from his post as Vice-President was his agreement last September with King Husayn that Iraq would not interfere in the armed confrontation between the Jordanian authorities and the Palestine Resistance organisations. The statement also says these organisations intercepted a radio conversation between King Husayn and Tikriti in which the latter reassured the King that he had come to Jordan to make sure junior Iraqi officers did not act recklessly by taking part in the fighting alongside the Resistance.

The Information Ministry states that the facts stated in the magazine are completely groundless. The Information Ministry doubts that such a statement was made by Yasir Arafat because all Tikriti's activities and contacts during the recent incidents in Jordan came at the request of the representatives of the PLO Central Committee, in their presence and with their knowledge. It is illogical to believe that Yasir Arafat would act on behalf of the Iraqi Government in explaining the reasons for the relief of Tikriti from his post, because Arafat realises that this action falls within the power of the Iraqi Government alone and is a very private government matter.

The Iraqi Government, while it regrets such distortion of facts, cannot overlook the fact that the main aim of this distortion is to continue the attempts to cast doubt on the attitude of revolutionary Iraq towards the Resistance and the plotting aimed at this movement, whether its source is the reactionary Jordanian regime or any other side seeking a capitulationist settlement and liquidation of the Palestine issue.

**Anti-Israeli Affairs**

LAST PAPER



CONFIDENTIAL

(37)



BRITISH EMBASSY,  
BAGHDAD.

Reference No. 1/12

10 October, 1970

NEQ 11

Mr. de la Perle.

Mr. Long

Mr. Egerton  
Mr. Mackinnon

Encl. R.E. 17/10

THE INTERNAL SCENE

This is another rag-bag letter. The chief impression one has in Baghdad at present is of a deafening silence; nothing at all seems to be happening. The two main papers al Jumhuriyah and al Thawra have virtually given up writing editorials since Nasser's death and main headlines are given to such matters as the internal situation in Bolivia and Agrarian Reform! Everyone is asking "what is happening?" and no one seems able to give a very coherent reply. There are, however, one or two snippets of information which may be of interest.

2. Iraq's reaction to Nasser's death was in many ways predictable. Essentially the Baghdad Ba'athists must regard the present as the ideal time for making a real effort to establish themselves as leaders of the Arab World. Equally predictable, the gap between aspiration and achievement, remains large. However, the Arab Ambassadors here think very ill indeed of the way in which the Iraqis behaved over Nasser and, as already reported in my tel No. 694, they all boycotted the opening of the Baghdad International Fair on the day of Nasser's funeral. There must be a good deal of pro Nasser and pro U.A.R. feeling still in Iraq, and many Iraqis would undoubtedly have liked to see some sign of overt sorrow on Nasser's death. Perhaps the Iraqi authorities have clamped down as hard as they have on any manifestation because they fear the genie which might appear from the bottle if they uncorked it!

3. On the other hand we still have the impression that the Iraqis are behaving with moderation behind the smoke screen of communiqués and statements by the Commando organisations. It seems fairly clear that they have already withdrawn elements of two brigades from Jordan and there is evidence suggesting that they may possibly be intending to withdraw still more. On the other hand the Russian Chargé d'Affaires, Fedotov, curiously told the French Ambassador with some vehemence that the Iraqis were definitely not withdrawing. The Iraqis appear to be maintaining links with the P.L.O. and the other Commando movements. They also had a misunderstanding with Lebanon over commando activity. (Beirut tel No. 560.)

/4. We

J. P. Tripp, Esq.,  
Near Eastern Department,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office,  
LONDON S.W.1.

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- 2 -

He has now been sacked. R.E.  
17/10.

4. We have little further hard news about the régime itself. Hardan al Tikriti went off on 7 October via Rome, Lisbon and Madrid, on his way to New York, and the only member of the régime whose movements have been reported on much locally recently has been Ammash. Some prominence was given to his tour of the pavilions at the Baghdad International Fair on 8 October - perhaps to compensate for the fiasco on 1 October. In this connection it may be significant that when I asked for an appointment with Saddam, the Protocol Department said that they would put forward the request, but in the dealings I have had with them during the last week I formed the impression that I would be more likely to see Ammash - if anyone! We have heard no more of Abdul Khaliq al Samarraï, about whom I wrote last week but it is reliably reported that Shibli al Aisami a member of the National Command of the Ba'ath has left for Beirut after disagreements with the Regional Command in Baghdad. The Minister of Defence, Shihab, who went to Moscow on 15 September allegedly for medical treatment, appears still to be there.

5. We have reported separately some interesting writing in the K.D.P.'s paper, al -Taakhi and there was an incident concerning the Pish Mergah in Kirkuk a few days ago. Stories about what happened precisely vary considerably, but I.P.C. told me that security forces picked up a member of the Pish Merah for carrying a weapon in Kirkuk and the Pish Mergah reacted by completely surrounding the Security Building for a while.

6. Meantime the Russian Ambassador has gone back to Moscow for consultations. He was reliably reported to have looked a very worried man when he heard of Nasser's death but it is certainly not surprising that he should be recalled to discuss the general situation in the Middle East and in Iraq at the present time.

Yours Ever

D. F. Hawley

(D. F. Hawley)

Copied to:

D.L.L. Stewart, Esq., C.M.G., CAIRO.

D. F. Murray, Esq., TEHRAN.

E.F. Given, Esq., C.M.G., BEIRUT.

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Reference: 1/12

BRITISH EMBASSY,  
BAGHDAD.

31

31 October, 1970

Dear Richard

NEQ 1/12

(see attached) I have found it, since my return from leave three weeks ago, as difficult as ever to discover what they are really up to, over there in the Presidential Palace. The deafening silence reported by Donald Hawley in his letter of 10 October was certainly interrupted a few days later by the explosion of the Tikriti bombshell - though time-bomb might be a better term, since a faint ticking had been audible for many months - but the silence descended again at once.

2. Not a word of explanation has of course been vouchsafed to the public for Tikriti's firing. (The Under Secretary at the Ministry of Information went as far as to tell Bullock of the Daily Telegraph that "it seems he was the centre of a group"; but that does not get us much further and Zaki Jabir himself was probably just guessing.) We have already hazarded, in Jenner's letter 1/2 of 24 October to Hinchcliffe, an assessment of the reasons for his expulsion. Whether the decision to seize this sizeable bull by the horns reflects nervousness on the part of the Party acrobats or (on the contrary) confidence is a rather different question. Certainly they burnt a good deal of midnight oil before and after the announcement; but their handling of the "situation" displayed remarkable sang froid. Unabashed self confidence was of course the attitude they were determined to present - witness their almost off-hand annulment a day or two later of the State of Emergency (which has apparently been in existence more or less continually since 1935!). Personally I find this air of confidence convincing and must regretfully confess that they seem to me as firmly in control of the internal situation as ever. I should add that the progressive insertion of young Ba'athists into positions of command (overt or covert) throughout the armed forces is by now fairly comprehensive and is made more effective by continual cross-posting or removal of top-ranking officers of questionable loyalty.

3. In all this I refer only to the internal situation because obviously the plausibility of the régime in its external policies took a nasty knock through its equivocations during the civil war in Jordan. As to that, the only comment I would offer is that it is not often the case with an Iraqi Government that discretion gets the better of valour, and we should be grateful when it does. They seem, anyway, to be keeping their heads down while the derisive noises-off subside; and this all adds to the deafening silence in Baghdad itself. I might add that Bullock, the Telegraph man who has been

/4½ years

Mr. R. M. Evans,  
Near Eastern Department,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office,  
LONDON S.W.1.

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Interesting and helpful.

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- 2 -

4½ years in the Middle East without previously risking (sic) a visit, yesterday summed up for me his week's impressions of Baghdad as follows: "Unbelievably dull. Couldn't find a single story to file. These people don't seem nearly as bad as they're painted". Other papers please copy.

4. Something perhaps should be said as to whom in all this I mean by "they". Who now rules this roost? I am not much impressed by the rumours that Saddam Hussain's position at the centre was seriously weakened in September or that he only just managed to pull himself back into power. (Certainly he disappeared from view for two or three weeks; but it would not surprise me if his temporary eclipse was actually a ruse to see what Tikriti-men or other adventurous fauna pushed their snouts up into this false dawn.) Nor am I persuaded by current rumours that the same fate awaits Ammash as has just overtaken his rival General - though that may partly depend on his bringing to a successful conclusion the pragmatic policy viz-à-viz the I.P.C. which he symbolizes. What does increasingly impress me is the skill (again I am speaking of internal affairs) of the old man in the Palace. It seems to me that he has more than just the genius for manipulation with which he has long been credited. I now suspect he actually controls policy as well. His physical resemblance to Franco grows daily. Indeed if there is another revolution here, it would not surprise me to find, when the dust and blood had subsided, Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr still sitting sphinx-like in the Chair.

5. Other internal developments during my absence seem more encouraging. Relations with the I.P.C. have taken a distinct turn for the better, not (I believe) only because of the £20 million advance; and the burst of almost favourable publicity on oil company matters in the last few days seems to me a clear invitation to the I.P.C. to try again for a settlement. We hear from several sources of a new inclination to do business with Britain, particularly with British consultants. The restriction orders on the local representatives of two firms have been cancelled, though there is still a hoop or two to go through. There have been further signs of a reasonable attitude to the departure of Iraqi Jews. If only one could establish some sort of dialogue with the Palace one feels that progress of a kind might be possible. But they don't make such a dialogue easy - witness Bill Luce's frustrating visit. Bakr himself seems to be more inaccessible than ever. (The record established by myself last year of being kept waiting 29 days to present my credentials has just been broken by three new heads of mission.) As I write, there are rumours abroad that Bakr is a sick man. When the new Austrian Ambassador eventually presented his credentials a few days ago, Bakr apparently had to be brought in and propped up for the standard press photograph, the rest of the business being conducted on his behalf by Saddam Hussain. But Bakr has been sick before and must be allowed from time to time to be so and survive.

*H. G. Balfour Paul*  
(H. G. Balfour Paul)

Copied to: H.M. Representatives, Cairo,  
Amman, Beirut, Jedda, Kuwait  
and Tehran, and British  
Political Resident, Bahrain.

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Iraqi Vice-Pres. Removed; Position Of Saddam Hussein Assessed; Further Cabinet Reshuffle; Death Of President Nasser Of Egypt Noted. Ministerial Appointments And Changes In Iraq. 4 Feb. 1971. MS Middle East Online: Iraq, 1914-1974: Selected files from series AIR, CAB, CO, FCO, FO, PREM, T, WO, The National Archives, Kew, UK FCO 17/1244. Newspaper Cutting. The National Archives (Kew, United Kingdom). Archives Unbound, [link.gale.com/apps/doc/SC5107475502/GDSC?u=webdemo&sid=bookmark-GDSC&xid=0fbe5ff2&pg=1](https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/SC5107475502/GDSC?u=webdemo&sid=bookmark-GDSC&xid=0fbe5ff2&pg=1). Accessed 11 Apr. 2022.